

A CASE STUDY OF A
CORRECTIONAL INSTITU-
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V. Schneider, 1969

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ADAPTATION, EXECUTIVE REPLACEMENT
AND STABILITY.

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A CASE STUDY OF A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR
MALE JUVENILES: ADAPTATION, EXECUTIVE
REPLACEMENT AND STABILITY

by
Victor Lloyd Schneider

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
The University of Michigan
1969

Doctoral Committee:

Assistant Professor Edward O. Laumann, Co-Chairman
Professor Robert D. Vinter, Co-Chairman
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Assistant Professor John Tropman

A B S T R A C T
A CASE STUDY OF A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR
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Victor Lloyd Schneider

Co-Chairmen: Edward O. Laumann
Robert D. Vinter

This study of consecutive administrations in a correctional institution for male juveniles examined the way in which changes in leadership mediate an organization's adaptation to its environment. The central question was whether organizational goal stability would prevail in the face of external pressures and a crisis which implied organizational change. We approached the problem by considering the implications of substantive goals for the adaptive process and compared the goals specified by each executive, as well as their external and internal strategies.

The institution had obedience/conformity goals and was stable at the time of the first executive's administration. Subsequent to a change in executives and the turnover of all, except one, staff members, the institution was re-examined. Because the crisis which led to the replacement of the first executive was related to external factors, the environmental conditions and external strategies of the successor received special attention.

Observations, interviews, organizational files and documents, and questionnaires completed by staff and inmates provided data on internal aspects of organization life; while data on environmental conditions were furnished by observations, interviews, legislative records and a sample of relevant newspaper articles. Internal data was obtained on staff perspectives of organizational goals, staff attitudes toward delinquents, sanctions,

understanding and discipline, as well as staff sub-system relations and organizational tension. Inmate sub-system data on attitudes toward the institution and staff, toward inmates' norms and on inmate sub-system solidarity provided the measures of organizational impact.

Executive goals were derived from an analysis of executive background, the "definition of the situation", the "terms of succession", and the organizational character. External strategies, which described each executive's orientation toward the environment in terms of four dimensions, were derived from the executives' goals. The strategies determined the relational techniques each executive used in his extra-organizational relations and the role performance mechanism of the institution.

The environment was treated as organization sets in each of four crucial areas: protecting the organizational image, obtaining funds, securing staff, and managing the flow of inmates. Each set was analysed in respect to size, structure and influence and the implications and extent of impact on the organization in each of the four areas were compared. The executives' relational techniques and implications for the organizational role also were compared.

We found the institution in the same goal range (obedience/conformity) after a five-year period. However, variations in the backgrounds, career orientations and extra-organizational powers of the executives contributed to differences in administrative style, both in respect to external and internal strategies, which had implications for the organization's environmental relations, as well as for the organization's effect on its inmates.

Both executives attempted to restrict the observability of the institution. Because of the influence of the local community and the predecessor's relational techniques, the predecessor was criticized and served neither his career nor his party well. In contrast, the successor retained the position, despite a shift in power within his own party. That shift in power made the successor responsive to pressures for slightly more rehabilitative goals. He reduced the length of stay in order to accommodate to population pressures. The diluted thrust of the organization's traditional goals in interaction with a more homogeneous, more deprived, younger population contributed to perspectives and subsystem relations among the residents that resembled those which exist in more treatment-oriented institutions.

The study indicates the need for more reliable and precise measures of goals and their effects. It also suggests that the organization set approach to the study of environmental relations has utility, but requires further empirical application to develop more objective measures of organization set structure and influence. At the policy level, the importance of allocating increased resources to organization-local community relations seems quite clear.

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Paraphrasing a famous statesman and author, "Never has so much been owed by so few to so many." It is not possible to note all sources of support and aid, but it is a unique pleasure to recognize the contributions of a select few, without whose help this thesis could not have been completed.

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I am indebted to [redacted] whom I am which carried out the pioneering, computer data and for the intellectual framework [redacted] built. They include Robert D. Vinter, [redacted] made data and research materials available, [redacted] Janowitz, Charles Perrow, Rosemary C. Sarri, David Street and Mayer N. Zald.

I have received financial support in the form of a Public Health Service Research Fellowship, MH-30,430-01, for which I am grateful. I also appreciate the resources, including computer services, provided by my employer, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, School of Social Welfare.

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I am indebted to John Tropman, who prior to joining my doctoral committee, as a friend and scholar, gave generously of his time and advice.

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I owe thanks to the following: Nancy Cooper, who typed the first complete draft, Nathan Ashkenas, Daniel Beals, Donald Brewer, Mary German, and Eleanor Goebel, graduate students who aided in the collection and coding of data.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thesis Problem

This is a study of an organization's adaptation to its environment. Primarily, it is concerned with how changes in organizational leadership mediate the adaptive process. It examines the implications of substantive aspects of organizational goals under successive executives in a correctional institution for male juveniles in order to ascertain the way in which the organizational purpose shapes its adaptation to the environment and affects the organization's responses to environmental changes. Although it is generally acknowledged that organizations adapt to dynamic environments, the conditions that limit adaptation and foster stability have received little attention, i.e., factors that influence the rate and direction of the adaptive process.

This has been particularly true, in the study of correctional institutions where case studies and segmental approaches have tended to dwell upon the "total institution" effects and internal aspects of organizational life. Such perspectives typically ignore the extra-organizational environment and its potential range of expectations, assuming impermeable organization boundaries. They minimize boundary-spanning transactions and de-emphasize the significance of executiveship, especially in correctional institutions for juveniles, where the balance between protective

interests and treatment interests make goals and the organizational means employed in their pursuit problematic.¹

Empirical Orientation

The focus here is on the adaptation of the organization to its environment subsequent to a change in executives. This is examined by comparing external influences on the organizational mandate and resources, the organizational goals, the executive strategies and organizational structure and practices during the tenures of predecessor and successor executives. The comparison of two periods in the life of an organization characterized by differences in leadership permits distinguishing among influences of regional trends, influences of organizational character, the more transient influences (which are related to particular events) and the effects of distinctive aspects of administrative strategies.

Such an analysis should indicate: (1) the pattern of environmental influences impinging upon the organization, (2) the pertinence of substantive goals for understanding changes in organizations, (3) the role of the executive in

¹"Executiveship" is employed here to denote elements of managerial or administrative roles which are subsumed under the concepts "goal specification," "internal strategies," and "external strategies." Executiveship is elaborated later in this thesis and the referents for its elements are indicated at that point. It is used in a manner consistent with that of Street, Vinter and Perrow. David Street, Robert D. Vinter and Charles Perrow, Organization for Treatment: A Comparative Study of Institutions for Delinquents (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 8-15.

organizational adaptation, (4) the degree of stability of substantive goals, and (5) some of the variations in the adaptive patterns of one type of organization.

General Theoretic Perspective

An adequate theory of organizations, or more particularly of "correctional organizations for juveniles," ought to specify the organizational responses to various environmental conditions and to changes in environmental conditions, if the theory is to embody a dynamic rather than a descriptive or taxonomic approach in accounting for and predicting organizational behavior. How substantive organizational goals influence the relationship between the organization and its environment is crucial for understanding the adaptive processes of organizations (for recognizing the sources of pressures, demands upon it, and its response to them).

This research employs theoretical assumptions implicit in an action-situation framework of analysis.² The reciprocal relationship between macro and micro-systems requires mutual assessment of orientations and mutual diagnoses of the implications of action. The organizational

²T. Parsons, The Social System, (New York: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 3-23. Also, in chronological order, M. Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. and eds. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons, (Fairlawn, N. H.: Oxford University Press, 1947); T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937); T. Parsons and E. Shils, "Values, Motives and Systems of Action," in Toward A General Theory of Action, eds., T. Parsons and E. Shils (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

purpose which serves macro-system functions and, also, guides organizational behavior is the crucial analytic variable linking the macro-system and the organization. A strain toward system integration is postulated at both macro and micro-system levels. Literature employing a dynamic perspective of organizational goals indicate the significance of substantive aspects of goals and of the bases of organizational control for the analysis of organizational development, thus, of the accommodation process.³

However, despite the tendency toward system integration, greater slippage occurs in some parts of systems than others. Self-regulatory devices called into action in response to crises and other symptoms indicative of problems of articulation among sub-systems have not received enough attention. Therefore, our understanding of the sources and effects of variations in the rates of adaptation, particularly in some segments of social systems, is limited and has been virtually untouched by empirical research.

Organizational Development, Adaptation
and Executive Change

Organizational development is viewed here as an

³J. D. Thompson and W. J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environments: Goal-Setting As an Interaction Process," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 23-31; C. Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, XXVI (December, 1961), pp. 854-866; A. Etzioni, "Authority Structure and Organizational Effectiveness," Administrative Science Quarterly, IV (June, 1959), pp. 43-67.

ongoing process. Existing organizational traditions, policies, structure, and perspectives (i.e., organizational character) tend to provide parameters for organizational behavior, rather than prescriptions. Within these parameters the executive is free to adapt his external stance and his strategy to changing external demands.⁴ However, organizational development also suggests a series of stages, each with pre-eminent problems or issues with which the executive is expected to cope.⁵ These tend to be both extra-organizational and internal. Further, both legitimacy and visibility serve to place major responsibility for organizational performance upon the shoulders of the executive and hold him accountable for the organization's performance and achievements.⁶

The elaboration of a viable organization requires skill in managing internal arrangements and appropriately translating extra-organizational pressures. Such a translation must consider implications for resources and evaluative responses from the environment. Organizations at various points in their growth and development have unique requirements. The earliest requirement for survival is legitimacy. The purpose and set of activities tied to the formation of

⁴Street, Vinter and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁵Perrow, op. cit., pp. 856-857

⁶Street, Vinter and Perrow, op. cit., p. 45.

an emerging organization must be distinct from the activities of other organizations. Further, there needs to be some basis for undertaking the formation of new organization separate from existing structures and supporting the organization's autonomy--e.g., notions about the malleability of youth which lie behind the separation of juvenile and adult corrections, or the separation of criminal offenders from the mentally disturbed which derives from differentiation on the basis of willfulness or intent.⁷ At other points in the development of an organization it may be faced with a need for facilities, a need to achieve an integrated internal structure, improved effectiveness or efficiency or changing markets and resources. Each of those tasks demands a somewhat different set of skills and knowledge, which are not all usually to be found in a single executive. Therefore, it is almost inevitable that executive replacement be employed as a major method for reducing disparity between macro-system expectations and organizational performance.⁸

⁷Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), pp. 220-222.

⁸Richard O. Carlson, "Succession and Performance Among School Superintendents," Administrative Science Quarterly, VI (Dec., 1962), pp. 210-227; Oscar Grusky, "Treatment Goals and Organizational Behavior: A Study of An Experimental Prison Camp," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1957); Phillip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization," American Sociological Review, XIII (Feb., 1948), pp. 25-35.

If correctional organizations for juveniles are viewed as institutionalized means for meeting social system integrative functions, changes in the culture system (as reflected in new knowledge, shifting values and altered social structure) imply new and different expectations of correctional institutions. System changes modify the criteria for organizational performance and operational mode of public service organizations, such as correctional institutions. Because of organizational character,⁹ disparity between system expectations and organizational performance makes heavy demands upon organizational leadership and inability to meet these demands may lead to replacement.¹⁰

Several sets of conditions are observable which require executive replacement. They may be distinguished by the extent to which the parent organization exerts direct control over termination. There is little control in the event of an executive's death (although the age of executives and plans for replacement in anticipation of his death bear significantly on the "succession crisis"). Somewhat more influence is exercised regarding the upwardly mobile executive who takes a position in another organization. In his case the parent organization's valuation of organizational performance and of the executive's contribution tend to influence rewards and gratifications, thus, executive

⁹Organizational character refers to the "distinctive competence" an organization has acquired. It includes the values, commitments and obligations embodied as well as its social composition.

¹⁰M. N. Zald, "The Correctional Institution for Juvenile Offenders: An Analysis of Organizational Character," Social Problems, VIII (Summer, 1960), pp. 57-67. Also, Selznick, op. cit.

turnover. On the other hand, when the executive is dismissed by the parent-organization, whether by transfer, resignation or discharge, it is clear that macro-system response to organizational performance has occurred. In this study the focus is upon the last of the above, the situation in which the parent-organization decides on termination. As indicated by Selznick,

Developmental changes are most sharply reflected in personnel turnover. This does not mean just any turnover, such as routine attrition and replacement, but that involving a shift from one type of person to another. As new problems emerge, individuals whose ways of thinking and responding served the organization well in an early stage may be ill-fitted for the new tasks.¹¹

Implicit here, is the inability of the executive to meet changing demands. Several patterns of executive performance may contribute to this inability. The routinization of practices may lead to inappropriate and (for him) unchangeable habits of command. His specialized skills may be incompatible with the new demands, or the rate at which he is able to learn and modify his performance may be too slow for the conditions that have developed. His background and perspectives may prevent him from seeing and recognizing new and different demands, or alliances and earlier commitments and obligations may limit him in developing different sources of support that would be more appropriate to emerging organizational needs. Because the executive is a part of the organization, his ability to view

¹¹Phillip Selznick, Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1957).

organizational behavior objectively is limited. Few executives establish means for obtaining information on their organization sufficient to provide an independent and objective view of organizational performance. Further, goal definitions tend to specify performance criteria that contribute to construing organizations as "self-fulfilling prophecies."

The juvenile correctional institution stands in reciprocal relation to its environment. It provides a service to the region (containing, caring for and in some way modifying deviants), putting the macro-system in the role of consumer, and in turn it acts as a consumer of the environmental resources that are required in pursuit of organizational purposes. Public institutions depend for legitimacy upon legislative and various standard-setting bodies interested in child welfare and corrections. It depends upon its parent organization for a general notion of organizational goals and depends also on standard-setting agencies and markets (local communities, courts, probation and parole officers) for evaluation of its product and operational mode. The region provides personnel, both staff and clients, and the legislature provides the generalized means (funds) which, depending upon the organizational structure and program for attaining its purpose, determine the type of staff, clientele and other facilities procured.

System Level Interrelationships.--Each level of the organizational hierarchy constitutes the immediate environment and

sets the conditions to which its sub-systems respond, each sub-system with its own imperatives, depending upon composition and structure. The extra-organizational environment sets the conditions for the institution (mediated, translated and defined, primarily, by the executive and parent organization).¹² The executive must attend to various interest groups and publics for which the organization's activities and behavior have implications. External groups provide resources and standards among which the executive must choose those appropriate for accomplishing the organizational purpose as he has specified it. His specifications of purpose are contingent upon the "terms of succession" and the mission implicit in it.¹³ He is accorded considerable autonomy with his appointment, although limited by loss of the position if he exceeds his authority. The executive exercises this autonomy as he defines goals and creates the organizational means for their attainment by recruiting staff, soliciting funds, allocating tasks and organizational resources (including authority) through the organization; and thus, he provides the organizational

¹²The perspectives of sub-system articulation, executive role and executive functions employed here are based on the work of Street, Vinter and Perrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-49. They refined and elaborated the seminal ideas of two earlier students of organizations, Chester Barnard and Phillip Selznick.

¹³"Terms of succession" denotes the criticisms of the predecessor that are expressed by the appointing authority. It also refers to obligations to the appointing authority that are implicit in the appointment, e.g., commitment to a set of values, beliefs and expectations.

climate for organizational members, both staff and inmate sub-systems.

In turn, the staff compose, mediate and define the environment for inmates in terms of relations to the inmates --the manner in which they are disposed to them and the inmate relations permitted. The staff become for inmates the source of authority and other values via their implementation of rules and procedures.

Looking upward through the organization--peers and staff comprise the most immediate and pertinent environment for the inmates, particularly where limited outside contact is provided and distance prohibits frequent visitors. For the staff, the isolation of the institution (residence on the premises) serves to minimize external influences (limited to friends and relatives in the locality) and the colleagues, inmates and superiors constitute the context for organizational behavior. For the work supervisors and executive core members, similarly, other staff, inmates, and executive constitute the major features of the environment, although professional staff may maintain links with professional peers outside the organization and professional associations.

The executive, however, as the supervisor of a sub-organizational program for the parent organization, occupies a boundary position, in which the organization spreads out below him and the parent organization and significant interest groups which he must consider and to which he relates

are above him.¹⁴ How he views the superstructure and relates to it are crucial for the goals which are specified, the sources of demands and support, and the relevance of external evaluative positions, as well as the organizational product and operational mode to which the environment responds.

There are three major sources of autonomy for the executive in the correctional institution for male juveniles.¹⁵ First, are the vague and general terms of the organizational mandate, which derive from the ambiguous relationship between means and ends because of the lack of consensus about appropriate models for juvenile corrections (abstract product and unadaptable technology).¹⁶ The second is the unusual relationships existing between sets of significant publics, i.e., the separation of "consumers" (inmates), who have little influence on the services they receive because they do not control funds, and legislators, who do not know what their money buys because they lack knowledge about the material processed and the product. A similar situation prevails among the courts and home communities served by institutions. A wide range of criteria for incarceration and of program expectations exist, but

¹⁴Street, Vinter and Ferrow, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 45-46.

¹⁶James D. Thompson and Frederick L. Bates, "Technology, Organization and Administration," ASQ, II (March, 1958), pp. 325-343.

the court and community have little knowledge of the criteria and expectations of other regions. There is also discontinuity among various standard-setting agencies, e.g., child welfare workers, courts, etc. The third is the relative freedom from surveillance because of organizational remoteness and its total community character.

Consequently, the executive is relatively free to determine the meaning that he gives to the mandate, to select the interest groups and publics to which he is oriented and the stance that he adopts, and to evolve his own notion of institutional means for attaining the goals that he has defined and specified. These three elements constitute the major dimensions of the executive strategy, serving to differentiate among executives and the way in which they handle their organizational role.¹⁷

The executive is not wholly free, however. The quality and quantity of resources, population pressures, existent patterns of internal relations and prior commitments to external agencies place real limits upon achievement, as does the elongated technical process implicit in most programs.¹⁸ But between autonomy and constraint is considerable leeway, depending for expression upon executive perspectives and creativity. What he does in and with the organization may vary from passive withdrawal to aggressive

¹⁷ Street, Vinter and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

¹⁸ Thompson and Eates, op. cit.

meeting of the perceived opportunity and challenge. He may react to "implacable" forces bearing upon the institution or engage them and select among them those requiring more or less energy.¹⁹

Variables Bearing on Executive Response

There are three sources that contribute to the manner in which the executive will respond to his accession to office and carry out his role: his character, the organizational character, and the definition of the situation at the time of succession. His character includes his personality, i.e., attitudes, predispositions, confidence, warmth, etc., as well as knowledge and skills stemming from prior experiences which bear on his conception of human behavior, delinquency, and techniques for modifying juvenile behavior. For that matter, whatever attributes he possesses which the appointing authority deems important represent relevant aspects of his role, and in part help define his mission in the institution.

The organizational character, because it derives from the history of the organization and reflects traditional patterns, vested interests, and prior commitments poses demands for the new executive. They must be learned, evaluated in terms of his mission and he must possess the necessary skill to invoke changes where required by the

¹⁹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 257-258.

goals he defines or to integrate new operational modes with prior patterns.²⁰ Organizational perspectives come within the scope of the organizational character, for they include the existent ways of viewing clients, organizational purpose and the tasks within the organization.

The definition of the situation refers to the conditions for the change in executives. It denotes an evaluation of the prior executive and the organization's performance. It represents the perspectives of and evaluation by the dominant publics which are interested in juvenile corrections and the purposes of the institution. Both the criticisms to which the prior executive was subjected and the attributes sought in the successor help specify the "purpose" in replacement and suggest the mission of the new executive. It should be noted that replacement may not necessarily imply change. It may equally well indicate stability.²¹ Implicit in the succession process is the obligation of the successor to those who conferred the appointment. This becomes a constraint upon the executive and may

²⁰"Change" is employed here to denote either a different set of beliefs and values that give rise to a definition of the organization's goals at a point on a goal continuum sufficiently distinct from a previous point as to require a changed means for attaining that goal and measurable consequences, or modified organizational means and measurable consequences, despite the lack of a different goal.

²¹Replacement may be a response to conflict or tensions that could produce undesired change, therefore the replacement might be expected to mediate differences, conciliate factions and undertake whatever arrangements of internal affairs would reduce tensions and alleviate pressures toward change.

threaten the security of his position, if he seeks support on some issues from factions which support positions anti-thetical to the appointing authority.

Empirical Operations

In order to examine the ways in which correctional institutions adapt to their environment we use "executive succession" to denote two distinct but related ideas which are significant for the relationship of the institution to its environment and the adaptation process. One aspect of executive succession refers to contiguous eras in the life history of the organization which are distinguished by changes in executiveship. Implicit in the replacement process are evaluations of the preceding executive and the organization for which he is held responsible and which have led to his removal.

Further, the succession requires the selection of a new executive, a replacement, and the use of criteria in the selection process. Gouldner describes succession in terms of "definition of the situation" and "mission." These concepts provide the basis for the "special mandate" of the new executive. Both Gouldner and Grusky point to problem of the new executive inherent in the organizational character.²² Grusky indicates that organizational stability,²³ state of development, and existing structure are major

²²A. W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (New York: Free Press, 1954.)

²³Grusky, op. cit.

variables bearing on the "degree of crisis" and on organizational response.²⁴ Accordingly, comparison of external conditions, executive strategies and internal states of the organization at different periods of time provides data for assessing the relative significance of aspects of the external conditions, of individual executive perspectives and of existent internal states for the environmental adaptation of this type of organization.

The other aspect of "executive succession" refers to central elements in the executive role which are useful for specifying and analyzing "executive strategies." The three crucial aspects of executive strategy involve (1) relating to the environment, (2) formulating organizational goals and (3) managing the organizational thrust.

Because the transition from one administration to another is accompanied by evaluations that express dissatisfaction with or concern about the earlier administration, a direction or "mission" is implicit in the replacement of the executive by an "outsider."²⁵ Whatever conditions the predecessor may have faced upon accession to office, being deposed indicates either that he did not effectively cope with those conditions, i.e., he did not achieve his mission, he

²⁴The institution was found to be stable during the earlier study. However, it is possible that the institutions of this type, obedience/conformity, change at a rate too slow to be detectable within the one year interval of that study. Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 16-22 and 257-277.

²⁵Carlson, op. cit.

incorrectly defined his mission, or that the conditions changed and he failed to cope with the changed conditions, i.e., he was unable to modify appropriately his mission. Therefore, it is incumbent upon a new executive to identify his predecessor's shortcomings, the conditions that led to his dismissal, and to establish a mission which will avoid the criticisms to which the previous executive was subjected.

It is the organizational purpose or goal, as a central element in the executive strategy, which denotes the mission of the executive. The organizational goal stands between the external stance of the executive and the internal management of the organization. Implicit in the goals of the organization are the executive's views of human nature, juvenile behavior and delinquency, and the means for modifying boys' behavior--all of which condition the organizational techniques employed, such as the distribution of authority, the type of staff, the type of program, rules governing internal relations, admissions, releases, etc. However, these are the internal manifestations of the executive's formulation of goals. What the goals are, depend in part on what the former goals and operational mode were. For implicit in the evaluation of the previous executive are the standards or expectations of significant interest groups or publics, which were not satisfied and which had sufficient influence to create the crisis terminating the tenure of the earlier executive. The evaluation is contingent

upon the fit among the expectations, the executive's interpretation of expectations and organizational performance. These elements are incorporated in the operational mode and goals of the previous executive and become the context for the "definition of the situation" of a new executive, the "springboard" for evolving his mission and the means by which the mission will be accomplished, i.e., his "strategy."

Summary

This chapter presents a statement of the problem, the scope of the research and the theoretical framework, and some implicit propositions. Here the empirical operations of the research are broadly indicated and an outline of the thesis structure complete the chapter.

The second chapter describes the research design and methodology, including the operationalization of concepts and the development of instruments employed in the research.

Chapter III provides a brief historical statement on the institution studied, indicating some of the traditions which had evolved in the institution.

The findings of the study are presented in Chapters IV, V and VI. Chapter IV treats the two executives: taking up their personal backgrounds, character, career lines, orientation to juvenile corrections, orientation to the extra-organizational environment, the strategies employed by each in carrying out his mission in the institution and the

implications of the appointment of each for the institution upon his accession to office. The fifth chapter includes the treatment of material on the organizational environment, including the organizational and social setting of the institution, the context for replacing executives and a comparison of the extra-organization relational techniques during the tenures of the two executives. The sixth chapter takes up the findings on the internal aspects of the organization under each of the two executives. Here the inculcation of goals or organizational purpose, the allocation of tasks and authority, the pattern of sub-system relationships and perspectives (both staff and inmates) are examined and compared.

The summary and conclusions appear in Chapter VII, which integrates the material of the three preceding chapters and proposes dimensions of organizations which lend themselves to understanding organizational responses under various conditions of macro-system-micro-system relationship.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Comparative and Longitudinal Bases of a Case Study

This research, although focused on a single organization, compares organizational states at several points in the history of the institution.¹ Therefore, it gains breath through continuity with an earlier comparative study that included the institution.² The previous study provides baseline data for assessing organizational behavior approximately four years later as well as criteria for evaluating the potential range of organizational responses to goal commitments. This study selectively replicates certain aspects of the earlier one in order to maintain comparability of data. The range of inquiry was narrowed by retaining questionnaire items which were most pertinent to the character of the institution and which were believed to be most

¹Although studies of single organizations have limited evidential power for establishing relationships, they are adequate for disproving a relationship; also they suggest hypotheses and serve reconceptualization.

²Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit.; Robert D. Vinter, et al., The Comparative Study of Juvenile Correctional Institutions: A Research Report. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, School of Social Work, 1961).

sensitive to change. Some aspects of the internal structure, particularly the client system, were omitted and the external environment was examined in greater detail.

In part, this institution was selected for the study because it represents the predominant form of juvenile correctional practice (obedience-conformity).³ Based on staff-inmate ratios, Janowitz indicates that about half of all public institutions are of the custodial (obedience-conformity) type.⁴ The prevalence of obedience-conformity institutions suggests that they are persistent. The Comparative Study,⁵ also indicates that they are comparatively stable. Organizational purpose and implicit structure appear to influence the way an institution relates and adapts to its environment. Further, this institution contrasts with the two treatment institutions in the earlier study that experienced changes in executives prior to and during that study.⁶ It occupies an extreme position at the opposite end of the goals continuum among the institutions of the comparative study.

³The research reported by Street, Vinter, and Perrow employed an a priori goal continuum for ordering institutional types. The continuum ranged from "custody" at one end to "treatment" at the other. The obedience-conformity model, while not at the extreme position, was closer to the custody position than other models identified in their study, op. cit., pp. 16-22.

⁴Morris Janowitz, "Forward," in Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. x-xi.

⁵Op. cit., pp. 264-268.

⁶Ibid., pp. 48-53 and 63-64.

This institution provides an empirical example of a stable organization; it is one which should be less responsive to external pressures and trends. It should also be subjected to less pressure. Yet, subsequent to the earlier study, it experienced the replacement of its executive and turnover of most personnel. Presumably this would connote instability and portend change.⁷ Therefore, it provides the kind of paradox which traditionally has been most fruitful for research. On one hand the organization had been established as stable and relatively free of internal conflict; while, on the other hand, there was evidence implying instability which would appear related to its external rather than internal relationships. This provides not only the opportunity to examine the influence of the environment on the change in executives, on the goal-setting process and on the organizational behavior of this type of institution; but, also, it reveals the influence of the organization's substantive goals on the succession process per se.

Permission to conduct the study and access to the institution were obtained first through approval of the parent organization via an exploratory letter and a conference and then by a meeting with the executive of the institution. The meeting with the executive was used to explore the

⁷Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 59-101; Carlson, op. cit., pp. 210-227.

feasibility of the research, to indicate data and procedural requirements, and to assure him of the care that would be exercised with respect to information and data. Carte blanche was tendered and the specific terms of the agreement were confirmed in a letter prior to undertaking the research. Despite the letter specifying the conditions essential for undertaking and completing the study, however, the precariousness of positions and the charged political climate required repeated negotiations and clearance of matters with the parent organization.

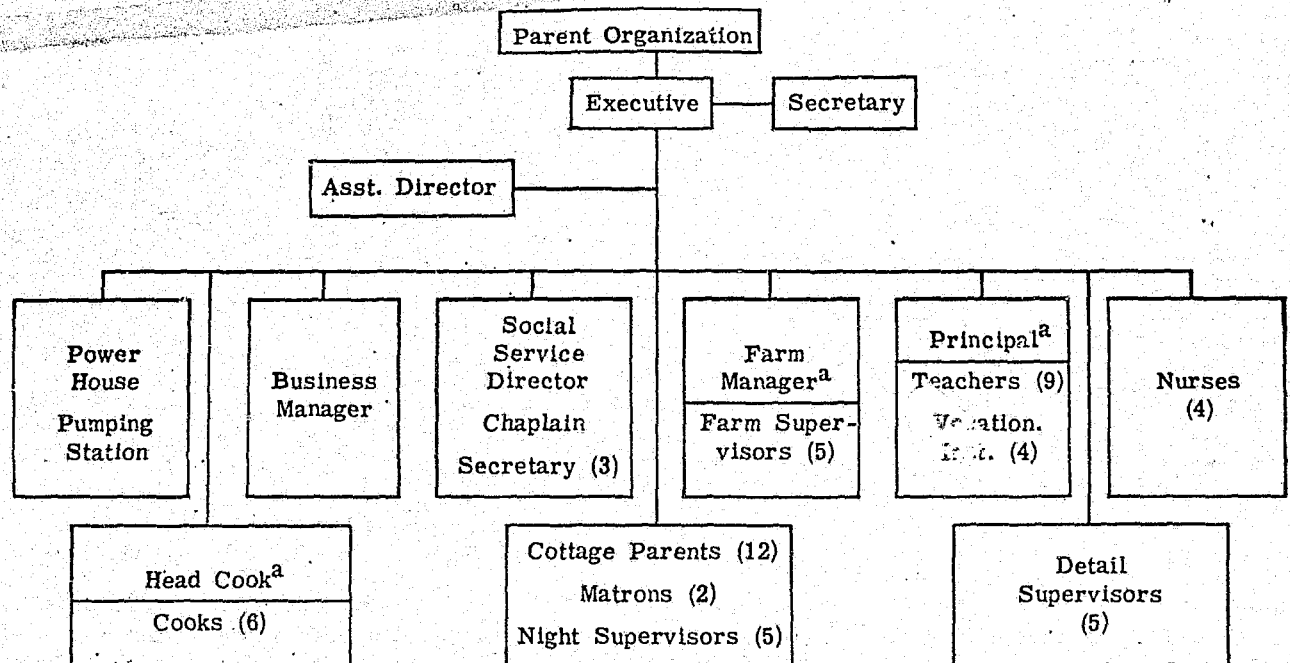
In order to provide some idea about the institution's size and structure under each of the executives, Figures 1 and 2 and Tables 1 and 2 are presented at this point. They will provide the reader with a preliminary notion of the institution being discussed and will help him understand the research procedures and references to members of the organization.⁸

The Collection of Data

The collection of data moved from an early exploratory phase to a more formal and intensive program of interviews and observations both inside and outside the institution.⁹ Exploration included visits to the parent

⁸Discussion of the contents of the Figures and Tables is deferred until their substance is relevant to the analysis of the organization, Chapter VI.

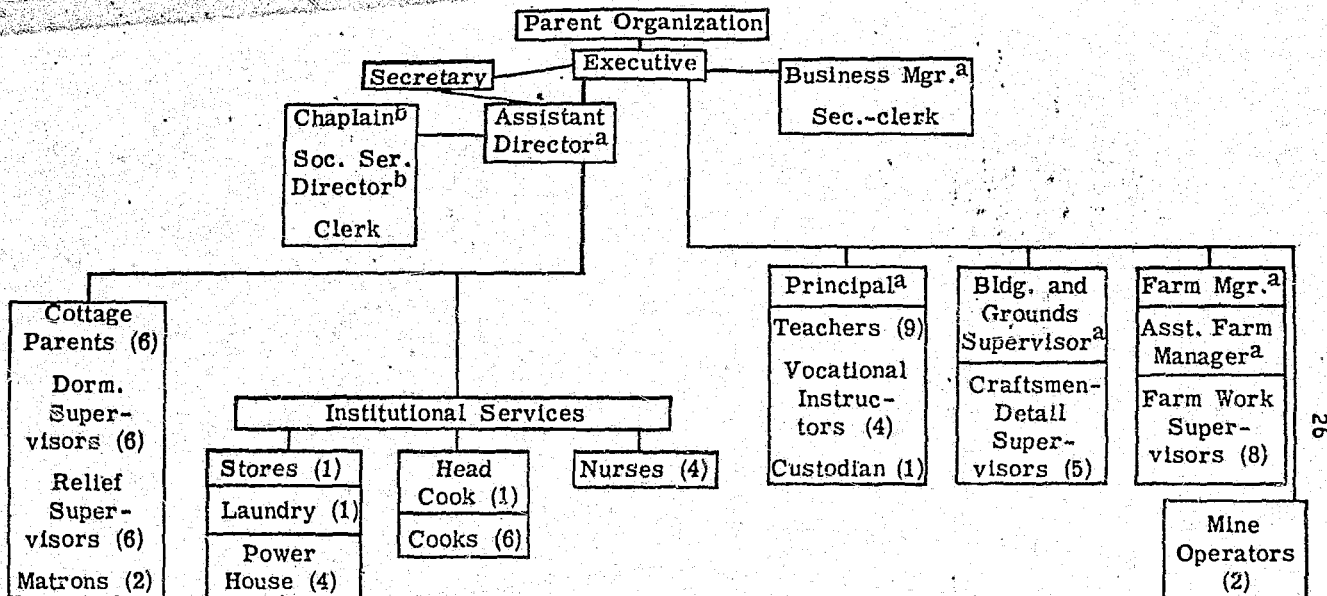
⁹The following table provides a rough guide for the chronology of field procedures. In most cases some portions of the data were collected before or after the period



25

^aDepartment heads (only departments in which the head was interposed between personnel and executive; however, the executive was generally available to all staff and inmates).

Figure 1.--Formal organization under Jackson.



^aPersonnel reporting directly to the executive as part of the normal procedures. In the event of conflict or emergencies, any staff member might go to the executive.

^bPersonnel who worked routinely with the assistant director, but who had ready access to the executive and who, along with the principal, assistant director, and executive, comprised the committee that decided promotions and releases of inmates.

Figure 2.--Formal organization under Smith.

TABLE 1
INMATE STAFF RATIOS

	Predecessor	Successor
Inmate--Total Staff Ratio	3.9	3.3
Inmate--Cottage Parent Ration	14.7	14.2
Inmate--Teacher Ratio (excluding vocational instructors)	25.0	25.6
Inmate--Social Service Ratio ^a	125.0	125.0
Inmate Population	250.0	250.0

^aThe chaplain, who did intake interviewing and some counselling, was included in the social service category.

organization and other institutions under the direction of its penal division as well as informal interviews and observations at Boysville.¹⁰ Within the institution exploratory

indicated. Moreover, information obtained in all phases of the study were used in guiding subsequent steps.

- I. Exploratory Phase (February, 1963 - June, 1964)
Observation and interviews of the following: institutional staff and clients, special programs in the area of delinquency, and staff and clients of other youth-serving institutions and of the parent organization.
- II. Main Data Collection Phase (June, 1964 - May, 1965)
Observations (April, 1965) interviews, file data, and questionnaires pertaining to institutional staff (March, 1965) and clients (April, 1965); most external interviews with court representatives, law enforcement officers and legislators; and terminal institutional interviews.
- III. Terminal Phase (June, 1965 - January, 1966)
Completed external interviews, summary of legislative record, and related articles from a sample of relevant newspaper stories.

¹⁰"Boysville" is the pseudonym of the institution which is the subject of this study. The "parent organization" refers to the division of the state administration which directs the institution.

TABLE 2

STAFF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

	Predecessor	Successor
Total Staff:		
Number	65.0 ^a	78.0 ^a
Median Age	44.0	52.0
Median Years Service	2.8	3.5
Median Education (years)	10.0	10.0
Per cent white	100	98.7
Per cent previous professional experience (Social Work, education, psychology, etc.)	13	18
Cottage Parents:		
Number	11 ^b	18
Median Age	39	51
Median Years Service	2	3.5
Median Education (years)	12.0	9.0
Detail Supervisors:		
Number	18 ^c	16 ^c
Median Age	54	54
Median Years Service	2	3.5
Median Education (years)	9	8.5
Teachers:		
Number	10 ^c	14 ^c
Median Age	44	46.5
Median Years Service	3	2.9
Median Education (years)	16	15.9
Social Service:		
Number	2	2
Median Age	32	46
Range Years Service	2-12	4-17
Median Education (years)	14	15

^aExcludes part-time personnel and consultants who were not integrated into the daily operations of the institution.

^bExcludes relief and night cottage personnel during the administration of the predecessor.

^cDuring the administration of the predecessor physical education instructors were excluded from teaching personnel as were supervisors who appeared primarily responsible for the production of work. Under the successor, the physical education teacher was a college graduate. He had been a professional athlete and provided physical education classes that were integrated in the academic curriculum was considered a teacher. Vocational instructors who had classes in a fixed place and whose students were integrated in the academic curriculum were also included among teachers. As a group they were distinct from journey-craftsmen who supervised inmates in tasks related to maintenance of the physical facilities of the institution.

information provided a basis for modifying the questionnaire that had been employed in the Street, Vinter and Perrow study and for identifying current issues in institutional operations and staff perspectives.¹¹ Outside the institution the interviews provided data on prevailing perspectives on delinquency and juvenile corrections along with evaluative material on the institution. Problems and policies which would bear on the institutional client intake, operational mode, and client characteristics were sought, particularly from juvenile court judges and legislators. Information from the courts was essential to the study because the quantity and quality of client input influence the program alternatives available to the executive and reflect the institutional image. At the same time, the reliability of the information and its source was evaluated.

Because the institution served the entire state, it was important to consider a representative set of views on relevant variables. Rates of recorded delinquency and rates of confinement to the institution were determined as criteria representing variations in local responses to delinquency, variations in court policies, and variations in local resources for treating delinquents. We selected a sample of courts by a random start in a list of courts that had been clustered according to geographic region and that had

¹¹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 285-305 and pp. 310-320.

been ordered within regions according to delinquency rates and incarceration rates. There were no outright refusals to the interview requests but many problems in scheduling appointments arose.

The judges were the largest single source of interview data (outside the institution itself, of course) followed by legislators. Among other sources, up to three representatives of a single interest or organization were interviewed.

File data were transcribed to prepared schedules (see Appendix B) and, to the extent available, were collected first on staff no longer with the organization and then on current staff. This preceded the staff and inmate surveys, which, with the exception of file data on inmates and terminal interviews with executive core, completed the collection of internal data. The last data collected were derived from an analysis of newspaper material, legislative proposals, and interviews with potentially threatening figures, e.g., the former executive, local community persons, members of a state citizens' group and the head of the state's Child Welfare Division.¹²

¹² Individuals whose interests might have been antithetical to the current administration were not interviewed until all information required from the institution had been obtained. It was feared that the administration would interpret several such interviews as "fraternizing with the enemy," which would have jeopardized access to the institution.

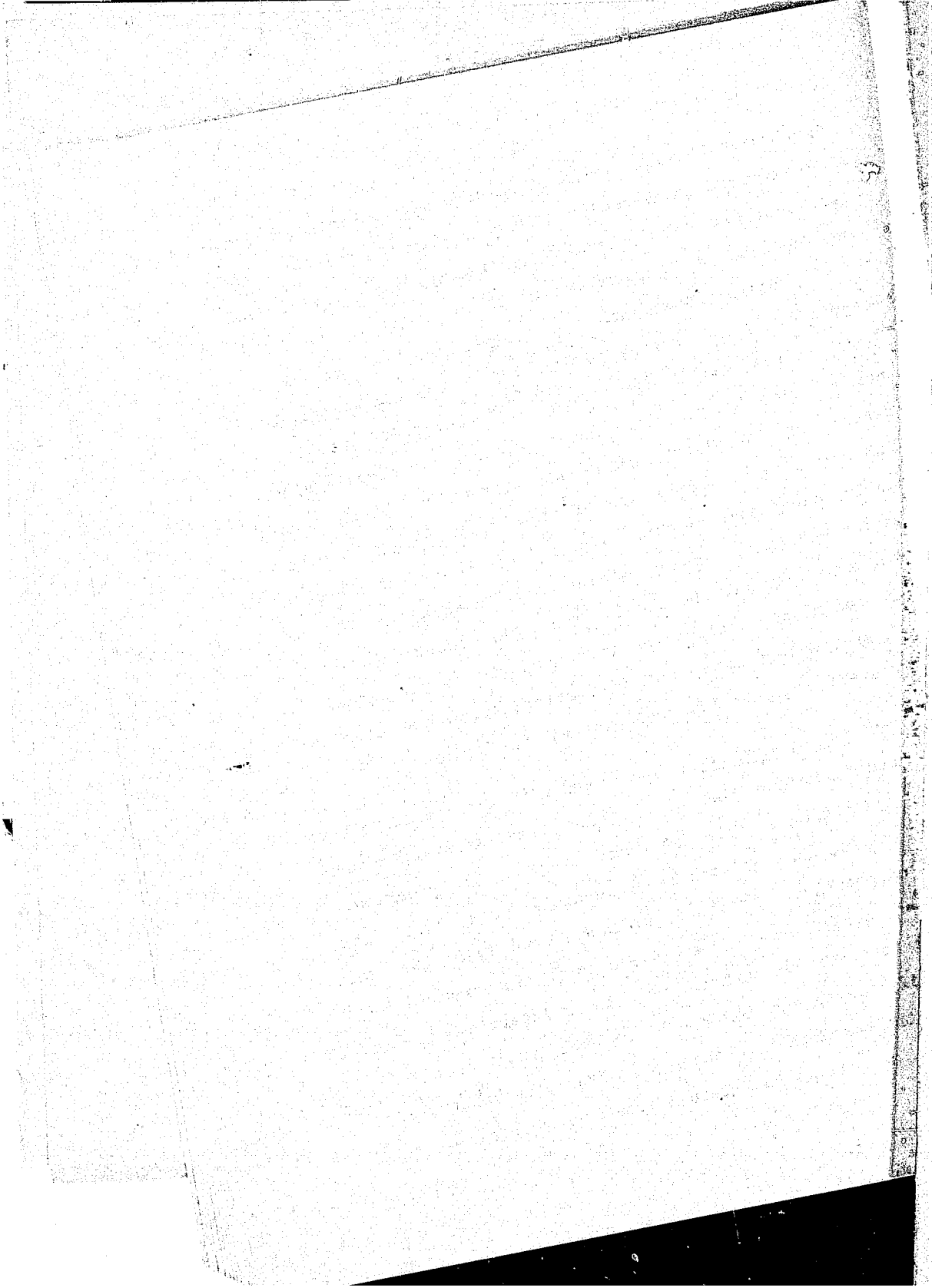
Internal Sources of Data

Four methods were employed to obtain data on the internal structure and operations of the organization, which tapped a wide range of sources. The methods included transcription of existing data from documents and files to schedules; observations of the daily behavior of staff and clients; interviews with staff and clients; and questionnaires completed by staff and clients. The file data (see Appendix B for schedules) provided information on staff and clients which might have been unreliably reported in the questionnaire, e.g., birthdates could be interpreted as providing identification; and age, even with explicit instructions, frequently is rounded or omitted. Employee handbooks, correspondence, internal publications and notices furnished information on executive perspectives and goals, identified significant external relations, and enhanced understanding of observations and interviews. Observations were used to identify practices in the operation of the institution, to determine responses to various events and situations which were part of organizational life, to specify areas of inquiry for the survey questionnaires, and to clarify their meaning. Observations also yielded indications of the distribution of authority, tasks, and autonomy, and made clear the informal practices that had developed and the kinds of issues behind the exceptions to routine practices. Along with observations, interviews served to acquaint the researcher with the institutional practices and provided an

opportunity to seek explanations of observed behavior. They also provided an awareness of problematic issues within the institution and areas of staff solidarity and conflict, adding substance for questionnaire construction.

Staff and clients were administered questionnaires (Appendix C) in a survey to ascertain subsystem relations, perspectives, attitudes and opinions. The staff questionnaire included a sanctions index, a scale of understanding, a scale of discipline, beliefs about juveniles, delinquency, and corrections, perceptions of organizational goals and executive expectations, ratings of influence and importance of staff subsystems, tension between staff groups, and feelings about employment at the institution. The client questionnaire sought perceptions and opinions about institutional life, sociometric data, and orientations toward and opinions about staff, institution, and external influences.

Institutional Interviews.--Interviews with the executive core continued throughout the entire study, terminating subsequent to the collection of file data and surveys. The interviews in the initial phase of the study furnished data on policies, rules and practices, provided guidance in modifying the staff and client questionnaires, and directed the research in respect to the external environment. Later interviews served to identify issues and problems within the institution and to alert the researcher to changes in tasks, authority, and influence, as well as to external events or responses



CONTINUED

1 OF 7

bearing on the institution's activities.

Furthermore, interviews served to sensitize the researcher to employees perspectives, particularly for new employees or employees affected by a change in procedures or rules. The interviews with the boys and other staff were used in much the same way, but were oriented to the specifics of daily events: attitudes, understandings, and reactions. Although the executive stated that the researcher had access to all aspects of the institution, employees were sensitive to information that might reflect on institutional practices and protected themselves by discussing such content with a member of the executive core before meeting with the researcher. Consequently, before an employee would comment freely he would develop a rationale or defense about the issue. Relationships were hazardous, necessitating patience and frequent efforts to resolve misunderstandings and concerns on account of intermittent suspicion and continuing caution.

Staff Survey.--The staff questionnaire was designed to be completed by the respondent; with few exceptions it simply required a check mark or a number from a list of alternatives preceding the item (Appendix C-2). The questionnaire was distributed directly to the employees of the institution by the researcher, who answered their questions about the procedure. The questionnaires were distributed a week after a letter (Appendix C-1) signed by the executive had been mailed

to all employees. The letter was composed, reproduced and mailed by the researcher and introduced the study to any employee who had not previously heard about it; it also provided evidence of official interest and support, while indicating the autonomy of the research from institutional direction. In order to permit a follow-up of returns, a locked box was provided, into which the employee placed the cover sheet containing directions and his name. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a stamped envelope addressed to the researcher at a nearby university. Seventy-eight questionnaires were distributed to all personnel except the executive and his housekeeper. One was returned blank with a note to the effect that the respondent, the contract physician, did not possess the information required to complete the form. Seventy-two cover sheets were returned, but the mail brought in only sixty-nine questionnaires, a response rate of 89.5%. This was comparable to the rate of returns in the first of the earlier staff surveys.¹³

Three questionnaires had been distributed by office staff to personnel who had been on vacation during the period of initial distribution. Getting the questionnaires into the hands of the employees took approximately a week, because of shift and relief arrangements among personnel. Follow-up letters (Appendix C-4) were sent out two weeks

¹³There was a 23% drop in response rate in the second survey, reflecting the election results a month earlier. Street, Vinter, and Perrow, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

later, three weeks after the first questionnaires were distributed, and a post card (Appendix C-5) was sent out three weeks after the letter. The returns followed the usual pattern of mail responses, decreasing over time, but with slight increases after each follow-up inquiry. About two-thirds of the questionnaires were returned within the first two weeks. With the exception of one pair of house parents, there was no indication of collaboration or leakage in the completed forms.

The Client Survey.--The client questionnaires were administered by the researcher and two graduate assistants who were familiar with the instrument and the institution. In order to minimize the effects of leakage, the survey was completed in a single day. We started with the cottage containing the youngest boys and ended with the oldest boys. It was administered on a Saturday to reduce interference with the daily schedule; the program for the day prevented any communication among the separate cottages until all boys had completed the questionnaire.

The dining room in the cottage was selected as the site for administering the questionnaire to the youngest group. The boys who experienced difficulty understanding the procedure and difficulty comprehending the questions were seated at a single table and one of the assistants worked with them, explaining the material as they needed help. She also evaluated their comprehension and, although all of the

boys were permitted to go through the motions of completing the questionnaire, two questionnaires had to be omitted from analysis because of the respondents' obvious inability to comprehend and respond. The other assistant circulated around the room to help any boys that had questions. The questions were read aloud to the other boys and explained item by item, with the option extended to those who felt able to go faster to proceed at their own rate. Questionnaires were collected as the boys completed them.

The material had been introduced with the explanation that their help was wanted to learn "about schools like this one" and "how the boys feel about things at the school." They were told that no one at the school would see any of their answers and that we hoped we could help make schools like this one better places because of what we learned from their answers. They were encouraged to raise their hands if they had any questions or if we were going too fast. There were thirty-four boys in the cottage and it took about two hours to complete the eight-page questionnaire, which chiefly required checks or circling of choices for its completion (Appendix C-3).

The next two cottages contained 37 and 38 boys respectively and, to enhance control of influence and to prevent copying responses, each cottage was divided into thirds. After an introductory statement and some explanation, the boys proceeded to complete the questionnaires on their own with the understanding that the person who had explained it

would come to them to answer any questions they had or to explain whatever was unclear, if they raised their hand. The researcher and each assistant administered the questionnaire to one of the groups. Literacy and attendance was checked at each cottage prior to distributing the questionnaires. One boy in the hospital for an operation was the only client who did not have an opportunity to complete the questionnaire.

The older boys completed the questionnaire in the central dining hall. They were grouped according to residential cottages, with the exception of a few boys on kitchen duty or on sick call. No staff members were present while the questionnaires were distributed, completed, and collected. Boys having higher ranks were seated in the same general vicinity, rather than being distributed among the other boys.¹⁴ This was accomplished quite easily. Since they directed the lines as the boys filed in and took seats, it was a simple matter to seat them together and free the other boys of their influence. The procedure was similar to that used in the other cottages. There was little difficulty, but some laughter among the older boys was audible at "wise" comments.

In each case the boys were informed that, if they chose, they did not have to participate, but bringing them

¹⁴The institution uses a rank-system for its inmates. The system was related to release, trust and responsibility. The details of the rank-system are discussed more fully in Chapters III and VI.

all in at one time apparently created too much pressure for any individual to express a desire not to participate. In order to link questionnaires with file data, some background information was obtained to facilitate matching. But, because of doubt regarding the reliability and completeness of responses on background data, plans were also devised for identifying the questionnaires. The procedure required the signature of each boy when he turned in his questionnaire. The signature sheet was numbered to correspond with numbers on the questionnaires. The rationale provided, was that we had to make sure that every boy had had an opportunity to complete the questionnaire. There was little difficulty in the three cottages of younger boys. Either the rationale was accepted or the boys were sufficiently trusting or passive to register no objection. This was not the case with the two cottages of older boys. In a few cases, boys who objected to signing their names were permitted to turn in the questionnaire without a signature. The size of the last two groups, 65 and 72 respectively, led to a line-up in returning the completed questionnaires. It was this, in part, which led to difficulties and in a few cases some of the clients solved their problem in signing the "completion sheet" by using a fictitious name or the name of some other boy. Ultimately, all questionnaires were correctly related to file data, with just one exception.

Two sources provide evidence that the questionnaires were completed independently of one another and that there

had been minimal pressure on the boys to provide "acceptable" responses. One was observations while the boys were completing the forms. The other was examination of the forms of boys who had been seated near one another. Instead, the boys interpreted literally the statement that completing the questionnaire was voluntary by omitting material that they were reluctant to provide. Fortunately, the areas omitted were different for many boys, supporting the impression of independence and minimizing the bias that such self-selection might introduce into the data.¹⁵

External Sources of Data

Three types of sources furnished data on the external environment, boundary-spanning activities and extra-organizational relations of the institution:

1. Extant data, such as newspaper reports and legislative records.
2. Informants presumed knowledgeable about the role of the institution, the governmental structure, and juvenile delinquency, who were interviewed.
3. Observations of courts, the parent organization and other institutions under the jurisdiction of the parent organization.

External data provided information on public response to institutional events, areas of public concern which might bear on the institution, the position of various interest groups on issues involving juvenile delinquency and corrections and the progress of legislative changes that might have affected the institution. The major newspaper of the state was sampled to provide information on the range

¹⁵See appendix for transcription and coding reliability.

and number of issues pertinent to the institution during various periods.¹⁶ It also indicated the position of various interest groups on issues affecting the institution. Legislative records revealed the progress of legislation, specifically who had proposed various bills and where measures died, if they were not passed. In order to learn about the positions of various interest groups and their influence on crucial issues, recent legislative measures (Spring, 1965) that were important to corrections and which were passed were discussed with members of the legislative committees that had revised the measures to secure passage.¹⁷

The researcher observed each interview site at the time of the visit for the interview. Casual and informal inquiries of staff procured enlightening expressions about procedures, problems and perspectives. Observational data was incidental to the purpose at the locale and was not systematic; but, nevertheless, it provided information which added to understanding the interviews and increased the reliability of recorded information.

¹⁶All pages and editions in 1957 were examined for relevant material. Based on the months with the highest counts of related articles, three months were selected for 1959, 1961, 1963 and 1965, respectively; but they were varied for the pairs representing four-year intervals, in order to increase the range and reduce the seasonal influences, e.g., January, April and September in 1959 and 1963. February, May and October in 1961 and 1965. Of course all months in 1957 were available as an additional comparison.

¹⁷The measures had been initially drafted and proposed by various interest groups, such as the Citizens' Council on Crime and Delinquency, the State Bar Association, and the State Judicial Association.

Interviews were the major source of information on the organizational environment and extra-organizational relations. Interviews with representatives of the parent organization and of organizations under the jurisdiction of the parent organization were carried out before and after examining internal aspects of the institution and the information obtained clarified inter-institutional relations and parent organization-institution relations, i.e., parent organization mandates, practices and policies affecting the institution. Follow-up interviews with the staff of the parent organization to check on policy changes and the impact of events at the state level were carried out at intervals during the study, e.g., July, 1963; Feb., 1964; Aug., 1964; June, 1965; and Dec., 1965.¹⁸

Most of the other interviews with legislators, child welfare personnel, juvenile court staffs, law enforcement officers, knowledgeable professionals in corrections and members of citizens' groups interested in corrections, people from the local community of the institution and the former executive were completed over an eighteen-months period from June 1964 through Dec. 1965. The data was

¹⁸Approximately six months intervals were contemplated. Scheduling difficulties contributed to the variability of the interval. The early 1965 interviews were omitted because the parent organization staff asserted that they were too busy. After the correctional measure passed, the head of the parent organization seemed reluctant to meet with the researcher and the staff that he interviewed appeared remarkably uninformed about issues.

obtained at the same time that the internal dimensions of the institution were examined and provided an ongoing basis for linking the environment and the institution.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR JUVENILES

Origin, Size and Growth, Buildings and Facilities, and Administrative Changes

Boysville was established in the 1880s as a public institution by an act of the State legislature. The contribution of buildings, land and money by local citizenry determined the site. A board of trustees and a superintendent responsible to the Governor managed the creation and operation of the institution. This early period was marked by the acquisition of land and facilities; but the rate of acquisition was not commensurate with the growth of the inmate population.

During the three-quarters of a century of operation since its founding, political patronage promoted a high rate of executive turnover. With the exception of two administrators whose tenures were obviously longer than usual, twenty-three years and twelve years, respectively, the average executive tenure was slightly more than three years.

From an initial population of six boys, the institution grew to a population in excess of two hundred in less than a decade. Over the twenty years following the first decade, it more than doubled. During this time several farm

houses were acquired for cottages to house the boys, but the greatest increase in capacity occurred at the turn of the century when a new administration building with a dormitory wing was completed. In the late 1920s, a three-story shop building whose top floor was used as a dormitory was completed. This consummated the shift from small housing units. Now there were two large dormitories and a single cottage for younger boys.

The school building was added just prior to World War II. With the expansion of housing facilities for clients, the farm houses, which had earlier been used as cottages, were converted to staff dwellings.

In a reorganization of state government in the 1920s, a single state board was established to administer the institution; this board also administered all other state institutions, including mental hospitals, prisons and centers of higher education. Although this change appears to centralize control of a large number of institutions, in fact, it led to considerably less control, because the heterogeneity of the institutions and their dispersion created problems of surveillance. In the mid-fifties the state government was again reorganized. Mental hospitals and centers of higher learning were grouped under more appropriate, separate administrative offices and Boysville was included among the "Penal" and "Humanitarian" institutions assigned to a single state department directed by an appointive

official.¹ Although a number of changes occurred which will be detailed later, such was the organization's arrangement when this study was undertaken.

Environment: Geographical and Organizational

The State is in a Southern border region in which mining, lumbering, farming and chemical industries predominate. It is a rural state and there is no large metropolitan area within its borders. The per capita income is low and for the past two decades the State has lost population. There is a high level of unemployment and the level of education and of health services are low.

Boysville is located on rolling terrain and the grounds are cut by a U.S. highway. It is an attractive setting with nicely groomed grounds, and the cluster of buildings provide a pleasant sight for the tourist driving through. There are no fences and the buildings at various levels on the sloping ground, which is rolling farmland, create a picturesque scene. Although most buildings are old, they are well kept.

The two largest buildings are the industrial arts building and the administration building. They house from

¹Institutions under the aegis of the parent organization are divided into two categories, (1) Penal institutions, which include the prisons, the medium security facility, work camps, and residential centers for juveniles, and (2) Humanitarian Institutions, which include homes for the aged, residential centers for the deaf and the blind, a children's home and T.B. Sanitoriums. Each group is directed by an assistant to the head of the parent organization.

70-80 and 50-60 boys respectively; the boys are sixteen to eighteen years of age. Sleeping quarters are on the top floor of each structure and, as in all the dormitories, the doors are locked at night. The two more modern dorms house 35-40 boys, aged fourteen to sixteen, and the other frame cottage, one of the oldest buildings, houses about 35 boys, age thirteen and under. The two older groups of boys are supervised by "commanders," a residual term from more military times, and the boys still walk from place to place in formation. The other boys are supervised by married couples called "cottage parents" who work a twelve-hour shift and are relieved during the night by a "commander."²

The staff, with the exception of the chaplain and teachers in the academic school, includes no college graduates and many personnel have not completed high school.³

The activities of the institution are influenced by a wide range of interests including the local community, the state wide system of courts, the State Division of Child Welfare, the Legislature, the political parties, those individuals and firms doing business with State agencies, and, recently, an employee's union. In addition, the other institutions, both Humanitarian and Penal, under the same parent organization, provide a supportive and a competitive source of interaction for state resources. At the state

²Late in this study the title "commander" was replaced by the title "dormitory supervisor."

³Supra., Table 2, p. 28.

level the parent organization administers the activities of the juvenile correctional institution. The most direct accounting in terms of formal reports and conferences about activities occurs with this agency. However, all state institutions and services are dependent upon budgets which are subject to review by a legislative committee, a state board and the state legislature. Obviously, the state legislature faces the pressures and demands of the full range of state departments, services, and interests. The success of any particular department in obtaining funds depends to a great extent upon the coalitions of diverse interest groups and of representatives from different geographic areas and on the amount of support that can be mobilized by each state department among legislators and members of the various review committees. While some of the influence on budget decisions and legislative actions is rationally derived on the basis of knowledge acquired through committee assignments and interest in particular services and activities, much influence is an expression of political obligations and relationships which derive from the fact that most of the offices in the state are political appointments. One exception to this is a merit system within the state department of public welfare. But even in this department, political considerations exercise influence on appointments and turnover, because of local control of administration.

The community influences on the correctional institution are of two types: (1) the local community, in which

the organization is located, provides personnel for most positions, provides services and goods for the organization and responds immediately to the threat perceived when inmates escape; and (2) the other type of community influence is state wide and is expressed via a state court system which is not an integrated system but one in which the community (county or court district) has considerable autonomy and is subject to local control. The courts are responsible for interpreting the conditions under which boys are sent to the institution and therefore are able to influence the population pressure on the School. The criteria implicit in their decisions may extend or reduce the range of client characteristics which become part of institutional concern. Further, both the community and the court are aware of offenses by former inmates and criticize the institution and affect the image of the institution in respect to its rehabilitative effectiveness. The wide range of perspectives among the various regions served by courts throughout the state and the variation in local facilities for delinquents, provide heterogeneous definitions of the delinquent assigned to the institution and widely diverse program expectations.

There are two other major sources of influence on the institution. First, there is the Division of Child Welfare, which is responsible for completing home studies so that boys may be returned to their homes and which is also responsible for providing parole services to released inmates. It exercises considerable influence on the discharge

process by the speed with which it completes home studies and by the criteria for approving homes. Like the courts, it may effect population pressures upon the institution; further, this agency, by virtue of its autonomy and the use of educational criteria for obtaining personnel, legitimizes its criticism of organizational practices and products. The other source of external influence is a state council of citizens organized to study and promote higher standards in state practices relating to crime and delinquency. The personnel and activity of this council had an impact on legislators and the public.

Programs and Philosophies

The program for clients includes school and work. The school offers an academic program through the tenth grade. Since school attendance is mandatory only through age 16, and since most inmates are educationally retarded, the institution asserts that few boys require an academic program beyond that grade while in the institution. Clients who are not enrolled in school work on the farm, in institutional services (bakery, kitchen, laundry), or on institutional maintenance. Early reports of the institution indicated the significance of the boys' contribution to the economic stability of the institution. They produced a large portion of their own subsistence requirements as well as income from the sale of farm produce. During the period of this study, farm productivity was still a clear and valued

goal. The institution also has its own coal mine which provides fuel for heat. Adult trustees from the minimum security prison work in the mine and live on the institution's grounds. Documents on the early life of the institution indicate that the lumber and the bricks of the administration building and the industrial arts building were provided by client labor.

The School provides a basic educational program with some remedial work at the lower grade levels. The amount and quality of vocational training has been a central issue in the fluctuation of the program over the past six or eight years. Although some teachers remain on the staff year after year, there is considerable annual turnover. In part, the male teachers tend to remain because they are subsidized by employment in the farm program during the summer period. Female teachers who are married also remain because they are not dependent wholly upon their own income.

Religion and chapel activity is emphasized as a part of the rehabilitation program. It is provided by a chaplain who has been with the institution for a considerable period of time and who has training for clinical and pastoral counselling. When the chaplain first arrived on the scene, he was sponsored by a statewide council of churches seeking to provide religious support and religious expression for the inmates of all penal institutions. His remuneration came from this council; housing and some subsistence were provided by the School. During the course of this

study the chaplain was placed on the staff of the institution as a salaried employee.

Incidents of Significance

Since this study is concerned with the recent history of this organization, we will refer to incidents that date since World War II. However, the manner in which the site was chosen has contributed to the notion of local ownership or a proprietary interest in the institution, and this has contributed to pressures for the appointment of local persons as administrators and staff. Thus, the county political organization of the party in power exercises considerable influence over the institution.

The impact of World War II is the first notable event in the recent period that has to be acknowledged. Obviously, the demand for both manpower and food had its effect on the operation of this institution. The pressure for men in the armed forces permitted the reduction in the population of the institution from somewhat under 500 to about half that number. Further, because the military drew on boys over 18, the average age of the institution's residents was reduced. Previously, boys had been retained until age 21 when no satisfactory home was available. Productivity of food was increased, and reports by the executive at that time indicate considerable pride in the contribution to the war effort by the institution. Although the executive was criticized and blamed for his party's fall

from power because of his leasing coal rights and trading coal properties for farm properties, it may very well be that the pressure for more productive farmland contributed to this exchange. In any event, it is part of the political mythology that the leasing of coal rights, litigation related to these coal rights, and the use of this information by the opposition party were responsible for the change in political control of the state executive office in 1956. The total landholdings of the institution during the time of the present study amounted to some 1900 acres, although not all of it was suitable for productive farm use.

Another series of incidents bearing on the operation of the institution have been studies of the institution itself. During the War years, the institution was examined by an agency of the Federal Government at the request of a committee of the State Legislature.⁴ Among the many areas of agency operation criticized were the condition of facilities, the adequacy of the diet and subsistence level, the qualifications of staff, relations with other state agencies, and a number of administrative arrangements related to budget and programming. This early report also questioned the absence of a merit system, the level of salaries paid the staff, the hours of work, the absence of

⁴U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, The Care of Children in [State] in the Four State Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, prepared by Frances Steele (Washington: 1942).

diagnostic procedures upon commitment, the crowding, the adequacy of fire protection, the adequacy of the lighting and heating systems, and the separation of the institution itself from the mainstream of the community and social life. Programs and facilities were criticized. The most general statement was that "the institution was not developing or attempting to develop a sound, well-rounded rehabilitation program based on modern principles of child care." The post war report was positive in terms of its response to the superintendent and his efforts on behalf of the institution.⁵ This report was critical of the housing arrangements and the absence of a gymnasium. Shortly after the report was published, the gymnasium was constructed. It is reasonable to assume that the report was instrumental in obtaining these added facilities. At the time of that study the position of Psychologist had been established, but it was vacant. Also vacant were two other professional positions, one for a social worker and one for a registered nurse. This post-World War II report indicates that an effort had been made to upgrade salaries and to obtain qualified staff.

The 1946 report comments favorably on administrative and professional staff, but speaks disparagingly of other staff in terms of their preparation for the job. The

⁵U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, The Care of Children in [State] in the Four State Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, prepared by Bernice Scroggie and Orville Crays (Washington: 1946).

inmate rank-system employed, using older boys to supervise other inmates, also was questioned.⁶ Prior to that report the institution had employed a classification committee to consider the needs of each boy. The committee included the superintendent, social worker, psychologist, school principal, recreation director, vocational training director, a chaplain and a farm supervisor. A subcommittee called the "adjustment committee" had also been organized to provide for needed changes in the inmates' job assignments. After the loss of the psychologist and the social worker and because of inability to fill these positions the program was modified and has not since been reinstated.

The 1946 report commented positively upon a number of changes that had been made in food services, dining facilities and some supervisory practices. The academic school was highly praised and educational retardation at the time of that study was not significantly different from that observed in the present study.

Although a later executive, Jackson, takes credit for instituting a vocational training program, the post-war report indicates there were earlier efforts to implement the vocational training program. The deterrent factors were

⁶The inmate rank-system used larger and faster boys appointed by cottage parents to maintain control of the inmates and to help catch runaways. At the time of the comparative study by Street, Vinter and Perrow, the higher ranking boys still had considerable authority, e.g., their reports were used as a basis of punishment and in grading behavior, which could affect a boy's release, op. cit., p. 245. Also, supra, Chap. VI, pp. 143-145.

the pressure of maintenance, the farm work and the limited number of personnel. Nevertheless, at that time the program provided for a large number of applied interests; it had a printing shop, a bakery, a cannery, a carpenter shop, a sawmill, a tailor shop and a shoe shop. Although the report commented positively on the presence of a position for a social worker, it was also critical of the manner in which the duties were defined and of the fact that the position had been vacant for some eighteen months. The criticism of social service duties is still relevant.

The next study of the institution, in 1957, contributed to the release of the executive. It also provided a framework and a guide for his successor's, Mr. Jackson, organizational activities.⁷ The present study is concerned with the administrations of Mr. Jackson and his replacement, Mr. Smith.

The Past Eight Years

This research is based on the period 1958 through 1965. Although not all the details of this period are reported, certain crucial events have been identified and provide a framework for reconstructing the experiences and resources of the institution. The predecessor executive, Mr. Jackson, came to office after a study of the institution in 1957 by a state council of citizens which was assisted by a

⁷Pseudonyms are used for all persons mentioned in this report.

foundation grant and a national organization concerned with crime and delinquency. The publicity evoked by their report created a crisis and led to the removal of the previous executive. The laxity of the prior administration was a major issue in the replacement and, in part, was a local response to practices at the institution.⁸ Of the eight items mentioned in a preliminary report, only one was implemented as part of Jackson's program. It is clear, however, that he attempted by public relations and tightened internal controls to impart a positive image to the institution and to minimize criticism of its programs.

Although the Governor and appointive officers were of one political party, the legislature and therefore the purse-strings were controlled by the opposition. The aims of Jackson's party, in its campaign, were increased efficiency in state government and reduced cost of government and of public services. Shortly after the election the country as a whole suffered an economic recession; the recession was particularly marked in this region. The campaign promises, the recession and the opposition's control over appropriations were reflected in the institution's limited budget. Therefore Jackson was very much restricted financially.

Despite his familiarity with the political system, one of Jackson's chief complaints was about the political

⁸Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 52 and 95.

patronage which governed appointments within the institution. He had little use for professionals, especially trained social workers, and was particularly interested in a smooth operation in which there were few run-aways and little to reflect on the image of the institution and his political party. Because Jackson succeeded a member of his own political party, he had to exercise care in his "strategic replacements." He sought to make clear the change in his approach and imposed more vigorous control over staff and client activities.

His replacement, Mr. Smith, was born and reared in the local county. Smith was appointed executive, because he was a member of the wing of his party which had supported the governor-elect, because of his help in the campaign and because of his local background.

The report of the legislative and state police investigation prior to the 1960 election provided information which became part of his mandate upon taking office. The earlier executive was supposed to straighten things out to run, in effect, a "tight ship." On the one hand, Smith was expected to be circumspect and to avoid the kind of behavior that had been held responsible for his party's loss of the gubernatorial race four years earlier. There must be nothing similar to the leasing of coal rights or the trading of coal property for farm land. On the other hand, he was to avoid the kind of criticism which had been leveled against

his predecessor.⁹ There must be no harsh and punitive treatment of the boys, and no frequent absences from the institution.

The insecurity of positions in the state was apparent when the head of the parent organization was reassigned and a new chief was installed. Early in the regime of the new chief, Smith had more autonomy. The new head of the parent organization was reluctant to make major changes and was highly dependent on existing staff in order to evaluate operations. Only as the head of the parent organization developed his own sources of information and developed relations with power groups interested in corrections around the state, was he able to move with any freedom in regard to correctional programs.

A new governor took office after the gubernatorial election of 1964, but the same party remained in power. Because the executive of Boysville had supported another candidate in the primaries and was not a part of the new governor's wing of the party, Smith was uncertain about his reappointment. His original appointment, in 1961, was announced in February, only one month after the governor's inauguration. His reappointment, four years later, was certified in June, six months after the inauguration. Also, prior to the executive's reappointment, his department head initiated a program to examine the rehabilitative

⁹Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit., p. 52.

aspects of corrections around the state.¹⁰ This provided the parent organization with a direct source of information about the institution. On the one hand it made the executive and the organization aware of the manner in which the parent organization could intervene. On the other hand, by not making any changes within the organization, the power of the parent organization was enhanced and the loyalty of the executive was insured.¹¹

The legislative session at this time was the most productive in eight years in the passage of several measures relating to both corrections and criminal statutes. Although the Citizens' committee had repeatedly proposed and obtained sponsorship for a bill to modify the state laws on corrections, it had never succeeded in getting this measure reported out of committee for passage. In 1965 this measure reported out of committee for passage. In 1965 this measure was passed.¹² It was passed in 1965, but

¹⁰A new position reporting directly to the head of the parent organization was created. The position involved liaison with all of the penal institutions in the department.

¹¹Gouldner indicates the effects of replacement on staff that are retained. The same situation prevailed here, in respect to the administrative structure of the state. A. W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, op. cit., pp. 88-96. Also, change would have risked support of the appropriations committee in the legislature and institutional-local community relations.

¹²It is interesting to note that the head of the parent organization served as a special assistant to the Governor on the legislative committee revising this legislative proposal.

with a number of important substantive modifications. Among the major changes were those pertaining to a merit system for employees in corrections, the qualifications for a state director of corrections and the elimination of the authority of a board to appoint a state director of corrections. Instead of the original provisions, the measure that was passed authorized the head of the existing state department to make recommendations to the Governor for appointing the director of correction, thus eliminating the board as protection against political influence and making Corrections a division of the parent organization. Because of the depressed salaries in the region, it was difficult to attract a competent person from the outside to take the position. As a result, the position was finally awarded to someone selected from the party in power, despite the fact that the appointee had less than the suggested qualifications.

Another event of considerable significance for juvenile corrections in the state during Smith's tenure was a federal grant to study delinquency and create programs to prevent delinquency and crime. The grant was awarded to an agency in the state capital and engaged a large number of people in the state's major city. It created another source of consensus about correctional standards and of concern about delinquency; it also increased the power of the citizens' committee that had been active earlier in promoting higher standards for juvenile corrections.

Regional Characteristics and Emergent Themes

The state in which this institution is located is part of Appalachia. That fact along with the terrain and rural nature of the region has fostered divergent perspectives about people, authority, government and corrections. Kerr and Siegel indicate that regions in which certain economic enterprises such as mining and lumbering predominate are characterized by high levels of uncertainty, minimal social integration, violence, and expediency in living.¹³ Ford has designated the area as a "Bible Belt."¹⁴ There is a considerable body of literature supporting the notion that limited resources, perceived inability to manage one's destiny, powerlessness, and isolation are concomitant with a fatalistic outlook, superstition, an orientation to the present rather than the future, and authoritarianism.¹⁵ The influence of industrialization and urbanization on the family

¹³Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike--An International Comparison," in Industrial Conflict, Kornhauser et al., (eds.)(McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York York, 1954).

¹⁴Thomas R. Ford (editor), The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962).

¹⁵Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); Walter Miller "Lower Class Culture as Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Jnl of Social Issues, XIV (4:1958); L. Goodman, Cooperative Research Project No. 125 (Washington: DHEW, Welfare Administration); L. L. Leshan, "Time Orientation and Social Class," Jnl of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII (1952); Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1960), pp. 97-130; S. M. Miller and F. Reissman, "The Working Class Sub-Culture: A New View," Social Problems, IX (Summer, 1961), pp. 86-97

and on social life have been minimal here. In a highly journalistic account, Caudill describes life in a region like this one, pointing, of course, to the extremes.¹⁶ This state is characterized by many of the features mentioned above. They are essential for understanding the development of the institution and for evaluating the significance of events in that development. During the two generations of executives studied here, the regional atmosphere provides a backdrop for interpreting events. It bears on the choice of executives and influence their choice of strategies in managing the enterprise.

Summary

This public correctional institution for male juveniles, after an early period of rapid growth, had its population sharply reduced in size and age range during World War II and never returned to its previous size and age range. Although purely speculative, it can be argued that this reduction in inmate population freed the institution from pressure which would have led toward more differentiated and more effective operation. In effect, prevailing concern about delinquency and the pressure to improve programs that were expected to handle public expectations never emerged. Thus, the question of "effectiveness" was never raised at this institution.

¹⁶H. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberland (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1963).

Over the three quarters of a century of its existence it has been directed by at least fourteen different superintendents, whose appointments and tenures were in great measure contingent on religious, local and political interests' support. Political patronage played a major part in the high rate of turnover, although state government reorganizations and a series of studies of the institution during the past twenty-five years (seven studies: 1942, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1959-60, 1960, and 1964) contributed to the rapid succession of executives. In five of the seven cases the reports of the studies were used for political purposes.

During the development of the institution, inmate labor contributed heavily to both subsistence and to the construction of facilities.

In the 1950's a reorganization of state departments tended to promote a more specialized governmental structure. Because of the political entrenchment of the department within which the institution was placed, it remained unchanged. The stasis resulted in spite of the efforts of groups interested in juvenile corrections. The plain fact of the matter was that the groups were limited in power. Further, an earlier political scandal about the institution made it an extremely hazardous operation for any but the most conservative management.

Although the series of studies secured additional buildings, little was achieved in terms of personnel or resources for program changes. The strong and vociferous

local area where the institution was located was the watchdog in respect to escapes, extremely punitive practices, etc., because most employees were local residents and could choose to be loyal to the superintendent and keep quiet, or to talk about and publicize institutional events.

Each of the two executives possessed distinct qualifications which played a part in their being selected for the position. And in each case political patronage was involved in a manner consistent with the prior history of the institution, even to the place of a "study" in the succession process. But the situation that each acquired and the terms implicit in his appointment interacted with the existing character of the institution to shape his program and the areas and extent of organizational accommodation.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXECUTIVE

Introduction

An earlier discussion of executiveship indicated that executive activity may be separated into three distinct but interrelated areas: goal formulation, external strategies and internal strategies.¹ This chapter first traces the influences on the goals formulated and defined by each executive.² Then the goals specified by each executive are analyzed and compared. Finally, the goals are linked to the strategies which are employed to manage problematic issues and conflicting demands. This analysis will provide the background for later examinations of the organization's behavior in respect to extra-organizational relations (Chapter V) and to internal relations (Chapter VI) as manifestations of organizational leadership.

Antecedents of Executives' Definitions of Organizational Goals and Strategies

All correctional institutions for juveniles must in some way and to some degree hold and keep the youth

¹Supra, p. 17.

²These influences include executive background, "terms of succession," "definition of the situation," mandates and organizational character. Supra, pp. 14-15.

committed to them. They must provide sustenance and care; and they must educate and modify their charges. The variations in emphasis given these purposes, and their balance and integration give meaning to differences in institutional programs and their implications. These are the issues which the goals formulated by the executive must resolve; these are the elements which guide organizational activity, help specify the organizational technology, and define the resources and support that the executive must obtain from the environment. However, the beliefs, values and knowledge provided by the culture into which the executive was socialized furnish his basis for interpreting behavior, for his notions about the nature, causes and cures of delinquency, and for his selection of an organizational model. Also, the ambitions, pressures and demands which the executive brings to his office, shape his decisions and help forge the mission set for the organization. The executive defines his role and orders the environment with which he must deal as a result of institutional demands, personal experience and obligations.

We now turn to the two executives whose tenures provide the central substance of this study. We will compare and link the elements underlying each executive's strategies to the goals each defines. We can then understand the variations between each executive's strategies, both internal and external. It is important to bear in mind that the organization examined here was characterized as an

"obedience-conformity" type institution and was found to be stable at the time of a study made during the tenure of the predecessor executive.³ That finding would lead us to expect that the goals, internal strategies and external strategies of the two executives are quite similar. However, both the need of organizations to adapt to dynamic environments and role changes implicit in the replacement of an executive (as well as staff turnover) suggest that differences should exist. These two contradictory tendencies provide the basis for this study.

Executive Backgrounds.--Mr. Jackson, the predecessor, was appointed to the executive position after his attempt to obtain the nomination for a seat in the upper chamber of the state legislature had failed in the primaries. He was completing his third term in the lower house when he resigned to become executive. Jackson was committed to a political career; he attempted to use the executive position and his administration to advance this career.

Prior to his election to the legislature he had managed his father's small business and before that he had been a high school coach and teacher. He had a Master's Degree in Education and, even though he had no prior experience in the field, he considered himself well qualified for the executive position. His teaching experience and service on the

³Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit., pp. 265-268.

legislative committee concerned with penal institutions (including Boysville) provided the basis of his perspectives about youth and juvenile corrections. His views were greatly influenced by the chairman of that committee with whom he served six years, since he, too, was a former teacher and represented the district in which the state penitentiary was located.

Jackson returned to teaching after he left the executive position. He was somewhat bitter about not being retained, but he recognized that his retention would have been incompatible with the patronage system. Although he was interested in work with juveniles, he said that he had too many family ties to leave the state, as he would be forced to do were he to continue in the field. He liked working with boys, but he was not optimistic about changing them and had limited notions about the kind and extent of change that was possible. Good behavior was seen as an adequate criteria for successful rehabilitation; but in discussing the vocational program he referred to it as "true rehabilitation." He saw "work as therapy" when he discussed the summer farm program.

He was quite satisfied with his accomplishments as executive. Despite the pressure and problems (political and maintenance) that he acknowledged, he pointed with pride to his having refurbished the administrative offices and one of the cottages. He claimed many repairs to what he asserted were the most run-down facilities in the state. His

achievements were accomplished without an increase in financial support, since, he asserted, "the county didn't have enough votes to matter." One of his major accomplishments was increased farm production which permitted better meals, e.g., "meat daily" for the boys.⁴

Smith, the successor executive, was appointed in the traditional patronage manner following his party's success at the polls. He had just completed a term as sheriff in the county where the institution was located, but he was prohibited from succeeding himself by state law. He had grown up in the vicinity of Boysville and shared the local proprietary interest in the institution. He also shared the local myths about the institution. He was proud of his appointment and was quite satisfied to remain there and do as well as he was able.

Because of the Depression, he had not been able to attend college. At one time he had been employed by his predecessor's uncle, a road contractor. Prior to becoming sheriff he had been employed in a supervisory position in the railroad yards in the county seat. The town was a major switching point for the region, but the level of railroad activity dropped sharply after the Korean conflict and he was released. His wife was a relative of an important member of the senate finance committee and he himself had been active in county politics most of his life.

⁴Ibid., pp. 44-51.

He had first-hand experience with inmates of the institution, for as Sheriff he had engaged in the apprehension of runaways. Besides providing one reason for his appointment as executive, his experience as Sheriff influenced his perspectives. His perspectives and attitudes were also shaped by the fact that he had resided in the area and knew the institution. He was a few years older than his predecessor; this, together with his limited formal education, explained his more modest ambitions and his interest in the executiveship as a career goal.

He, too, held simple views of human behavior and of the nature, causes and cures of delinquency. He didn't emphasize detachment, as his predecessor did, due to his limited educational background. Instead, he was able to express and communicate his natural warmth and interest in the boys. Occasionally, he would stop and chat with them. He would ask them how they were getting along, whether they had heard from their families and if everything was alright at home. Both of these executives asserted that lack of parental interest, the failure of parents to teach their children "right" from "wrong" and the lack of good examples were the causes for "these boys going wrong." Both sustained an essentially moralistic view of behavior and held traditional beliefs about the family and the relations between adults and children: e.g., "children should be seen and not heard."

The long period during which the researcher observed

the institution provided the basis for a relationship that enabled Smith to share many of his concerns and questions. Despite his pride in the low run-away rate and the overt good behavior of his boys, he raised questions about the institutional design that he had inherited and perpetuated. His limited education and the uncertainty of tenure fostered his insecurity. On the one hand, he needed to present a good image, and this led him to be defensive about questions that appeared to cast aspersions on him or his administration. On the other hand, his commitment to his position and his genuine concern for the boys encouraged him to seek advice, suggestions and answers to his problems. His early distrust of professionals--who might jeopardize his control and his position--ultimately gave way to a marginal acceptance. However, he was more comfortable innovating and coordinating changes to the physical plant than to the program. But he did institute a number of program changes to promote fairness, to maintain order and to secure more effective accomplishment of the goals he set forth. These changes were generally consistent with his simplistic perspective.

Succession and Special Mandates.--The two executives took office under totally different circumstances. Jackson called himself a "trouble shooter" for his party. He took office after severe criticism had led to the removal of the executive who preceded him and who was an appointee of the

same party. Jackson, in his own words, had been "given six months to clean the place up." The major complaints that he cited were those of laxness in the administration, poor discipline among the boys and poor morale among the employees.⁵ Other sources suggested that the employees were exploiting institutional resources for personal gain, e.g., taking milk from the dairy and produce and canned goods for home use, taking lumber and using inmate labor away from the institution's grounds.⁶ The compensation authorized for inmate labor was reduced from fifty to twenty-five cents an hour during his administration. The report of the citizens' committee study, particularly the more concrete and visible objects of criticism, provided guidance for his efforts in the institution.⁷ To the extent that funds were not provided for some of the specified needs, he was free of responsibility. To the extent that he could manage visible improvements from the existing budget, he enhanced the reputation of his administration.

Two other facts bore significantly on the situation when he took office. His party was the minority party in the state and the election of a governor two years earlier was an upset. One explanation for the upset was the

⁵Ibid., pp. 69-72.

⁶Note the similarity to the "indulgency pattern" under 'Old Doug,' Peele's predecessor in Gouldner's study. Gouldner, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-56.

⁷Street, Vinter, and Perrow, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

opposition candidate's administration of the institution fourteen years earlier. He was alleged to have sold and leased mineral rights of the institution. His defeat made the institution and its administration, at least temporarily, an issue in state elections. The few additional seats in the legislature gained as a result of this election did not permit Jackson's party to control confirmation of appointments. Also, his party could not control the passage of legislation, except by negotiation and by creating public issues. Since the opposition had the votes to override a veto, Jackson's party was unable to bargain strongly for legislation. Furthermore, the opposition still controlled appropriations.

The second important fact has to do with the defeat of the executive's party at the mid-term election. This created what Jackson called a "patronage jam," more job seekers than controlled positions. This was a major source of pressure and he indicated that as a consequence it was impossible for him to obtain the quality personnel that he desired for responsible positions. It also made it necessary for him to get rid of the few holdovers from the other party's administration to meet patronage demands, and this in turn led to local unrest and criticism. The defeat at the polls further weakened his party's bargaining position in the legislature. It reduced the executive's lobbying potency, since fewer members of his party were present to support and negotiate for institutional interests.

In contrast to Jackson, Smith took office in a traditional manner. Although he had patronage obligations, he could not immediately influence appointments to the more responsible positions. All initial appointments involved political obligations. Since the executive was not established in his office, he lacked both criteria for evaluating occupants of other positions and power to interfere. Management implies power to regulate roles and assignments, as well as to negotiate with higher officials. When he first took office, Smith had not yet tested the strength of his sponsors and the extent of their support. His local background, previous political service and appointment afforded some measure of control over appointments to lower staff positions. He attributed his appointment to his role in the election victory. His party's success at the local level was credited to his suggestion that the institution should not be used as a local issue. He had, however, in his own right, considerable local influence and could have been re-elected to office, if that had not been prohibited.

He, too, had the mandate to manage the institution so it would be a credit to his party. His local ties made him sharply aware of the criticisms leveled against prior administrations, e.g., the mineral leases supposedly responsible for his party's defeat four years earlier, the charges of laxity leveled at the executive that his predecessor replaced, and criticisms against his predecessor as well. Since both executives were from the same regional

culture, similar models of institutional programs were available to each; they also shared underlying beliefs, values and implicated technologies.⁸ In general, the mandate provided each was comparable, e.g., efficient administration, no scandals, and in unspecific terms to retain and correct the boys in their care. But Jackson had the "clean house" mandate and the implicit guideline of the citizens' committee report in addition to the others. As a "trouble shooter," we could speculate that Jackson might have had more power and freedom. A crisis might portend changes in organizational character.⁹ He was well aware, however, that the circumstances of his appointment reflected the potency of rumors and local opinion. Although he attempted to be circumspect and to avoid trouble in the local community, the fact that his residence was in a neighboring county limited him in dealing with local responses to institutional events. But, as Jackson said, "Smith did not have to worry about discipline and order, he had straightened things out." This suggests the succession phenomena reported by Gouldner¹⁰ and by Guest,¹¹ e.g., a reaction to the administrative style of the predecessor.

⁸Supra, pp. 61-62.

⁹Selznick, Leadership in Administration, op. cit., pp. 100-109.

¹⁰Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 45-101.

¹¹Robert W. Guest, "Managerial Succession in Complex Organizations," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (Jan., 1963), pp. 47-54.

Organizational Character.--Initial observations provided no indication of a change in organizational goals. It appears that the character of the institution continues even when all but one staff member changes. Only the chaplain continued from the predecessor's administration.

The transition period was commented upon by staff employed during the time of this study. Every individual including the executive, felt that the person who held the job before him should have remained on the job longer to help him learn his duties. In some cases the prior position holder had departed before the replacement arrived; as a result someone unfamiliar with the job had to brief the new person. It would seem that the press of daily operations in a simply structured program sweeps new people into an easily acquired pattern of activity and allows for minor adjustments with the passage of time, all without untoward incidents. Such a procedure implies transmission of form without substance or rationale. The lack of understanding precludes questions. Since the purpose lying behind practices is unknown or obscure, a technological basis is imputed. The process described above is a "retreat to technology," and denotes a "process of sanctification" and the displacement of goals.^{12,13} The very insecurity of a

¹²P. Selznick, Leadership in Administration, op. cit., pp. 74-82.

¹³R. K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" in Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 200-202.

new position promotes overconformity and routinization, which ultimately become the sources of comfort and forestall change. The ends which the practices were designed to serve are forgotten or ignored in the process and the risk of change appear staggering.

The Chaplain, whose position was supported by a council of churches and who at the time of this study had served in the institution for seventeen years, was a logical, objective, and informed source of information and guidance for both executives. He served the successor in that manner for about three years.¹⁴

The Elaboration of Organizational Purpose

In this comparison of the goals specified by each executive we are not merely interested in setting one set of goals alongside another. Rather, our purpose is to indicate how the goals and strategy of one executive provided the basis for selecting the replacement and the mandates of the replacement. Further, it is necessary at this point to indicate how the strategies of the executive bear on the environmental relations and internal behavior of the organization, for, in the final analysis, it is what the organization does and the terms employed in the environment to respond to organizational activity that constitute the issues

¹⁴The shift in the executive's orientation to the Chaplain may be traced to two events. One is the appointment of a liaison person from the parent organization to promote increased emphasis on rehabilitation; the other was the placing of the Chaplain on the pay-roll of the institution.

and criticisms pressing for executive replacement.

The political considerations in the life of the institution examined here are obviously important; they suggest that the purposes of the organization are political rather than correctional. But we argue to the contrary. It is assumed here that the more prominent institutional issues become in a political campaign the greater focus will be not on the traditional political use of the organization but on its substantive activities. This is particularly likely under conditions that have made political patronage, which requires underlying consensus and support, a tradition. However, as Ohlin points out, making a public issue out of organizational practices does not predict the outcome.¹⁵ Accordingly, considerable risk is incurred by the interest that promotes a public issue. (This is taken up in detail in the next chapter.)

Crucial to our analysis is the notion that the goals specified for juvenile correctional institutions are, in part, implicit in the institutional issues that become public and that they are to be treated as one of the environmental influences that the executive must contemplate.

The following statements of Jackson's major goal aspirations provide a basis for examining the variations manifested by the successor. Jackson defined limited and simple change objectives which were dependent upon obtaining

¹⁵Lloyd Ohlin, "Conflicting Interests in Correctional Objectives," in Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960), p. 127.

compliance with rules and expected overt compliance, submission to authority, and deference to adults.¹⁶ Somewhat more positive notions than the executive expressed were included, along with the phrases that appeared, in the official statements of purpose. Smith, while initially adhering to the same expectations, later tried to temper them. This was accomplished by reducing line-staff authority (cottage parents and detail supervisors) and recognizing situational and individual differences. How the successor attempted to balance order and compliance with the understanding and concern that he believed his program required will be discussed in the next section, which is on the staff-inmate relations.

Although both executives held similar views on the causes and cures of delinquency, the successor questioned the program and developed the view that the client population was quite differentiated. For example, some boys were hopeless and clearly did not even belong at the institution, most of the boys, particularly the younger ones, were normal and deprived, needing to learn right from wrong from concerned persons and to acquire vocational skills and good work habits in order to provide for themselves. He also questioned the unilateral strategy.¹⁷ Smith indicated that unless adequate home environments and help were provided

¹⁶Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁷"Unilateral strategy" refers to the assumption that the institution, chiefly by itself, can produce the lasting changes in the inmates that society demands. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

for the released inmates, the unchanged circumstances at home would soon contribute toward their return to the institution. Although the conditioning theme of his predecessor was maintained, with the passage of time Smith recognized the difference between voluntaristic compliance and coerced compliance and sought to invoke changes with a more positive connotation.¹⁸ He had little understanding of the sophisticated and complex concepts of mental health approaches, but he possessed considerable sensitivity about human feelings and behavior. These sensitivities were most readily displayed when he was secure and unconcerned about his own image.

The inclination to differentiate the population and the greater emphasis on understanding and concern demonstrated by the successor may be traced in part to the paternalistic segment of his traditional orientation to youth and the ideas that he held about the contribution of the family to delinquent behavior and the fact that he was not committed to detachment. Also, the order and harshness of his predecessor's administration were among the criticisms of that

¹⁸The treatment mode of the predecessor may be viewed as a simple form of operant conditioning, in which aversive stimuli and punishment are administered on a fixed ratio schedule to extinguish deviant behavior (undesirable or non-conforming). Both, the excessive use of aversive stimuli and punishment tend to produce undesirable effects, in addition to the humanitarian considerations involved. The addition of positive reinforcements (rewards) for desired behavior (conforming) is more easily managed than the removal of aversive stimuli. Also, the reduction in the frequency of punishment lessens the probability of undesirable effects.

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administration and thus became a part of the "definition of the situation" when he took office. Accordingly, although he could not risk "laxness" and was still strongly committed to deference, compliance and order, his mission required a softening of the discipline.

Illustrative of Smith's approach are his changes in the employees' handbook. The following statement presented in Street, Vinter and Perrow indicates the position of Jackson and his link with the past:

The School exists to train delinquent boys so that they may become useful citizens. We may not succeed with all boys, but the training given at this School will determine the lives of many; and it is of utmost importance, to the boys here, to their families, and to the communities to which they will return. Occasionally, an employee may lose hope of the reclamation of a boy, but he must remember that he will not succeed with all boys. *Fairness, firmness, and faith are very essential in reclamation.* Boys are quick to detect favoritism, laxness, and loss of confidence. Punishment is at times essential . . . but is never an end in itself and must be used with understanding.¹⁹

The statement is identical with one used by earlier administrators appointed by the opposition and appeared in several versions prior to Jackson's tenure. His only change was in the emphasis added by the italics. Such changes, which occur throughout the entire handbook reveal not one modification in wording; only italics, which expressed Jackson's desire to restore order in the institution, were evident.

Smith's 1963 edition of the handbook, while retaining Jackson's emphasis, omitted ten percent of the earlier

¹⁹ Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 50.

content and increased the content by fifty percent. The changes included a complete revision of the inmate rank-system and made the criteria and rules for grading the behavior of boys and the basis for promotion, discharge and parole explicit for the staff. It provided increased emphasis of privileges, as well as information about the rules on correspondence, spending money and gifts which had been sent to the inmates' families. Despite its explication of rules and procedures, it acknowledged the importance of attitudes as well as behavior. The executive hoped to help his staff by clarifying the basis of some of the institution's rules and decisions.

Executive Orientation to Staff-Inmate Relations

Consistent with his simplistic notions of human behavior and limited change objectives, Jackson expected the status and power distinctions between staff and inmates to guide their relationships. Inmates were to be respectfully obedient and immediately accede to all staff requests and orders. Staff were expected to maintain their distance, act upon the inmate, and enforce negative sanctions to secure proper inmate behavior, ". . . close or intimate relations and inmate voluntarism were not to be fostered . . ." ²⁰ Detachment, impersonality, firmness, respect, discipline, command, etc., describe the staff stance desired by the predecessor. More severe sanctions had been instituted,

²⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

although criticism forced Jackson to reduce their severity later in his regime.²¹ The inmates were expected to comply deferentially to all the rules, requests, commands and orders invoked by the staff. Smith, as previously mentioned, did not attach the same significance to staff detachment and impersonality. In addition, with the passage of time, privileges and rewards were included in the compliance technology; these modifications added positive reinforcements and the loss of rewards to the conditioning process.

Despite rules that required executive approval of corporal punishment, the staff administered physical punishment without approval and with considerable freedom during Jackson's term. During Smith's administration, line staff, such as cottage parents, work supervisors and farm personnel, had less authority and autonomy in certain areas (punishment and release). The executive thus attempted to reduce the harshness of sanctions and to promote voluntaristic compliance. These efforts were consistent with the importance that Smith attached to understanding and concern. This policy may very well have been a response to the report of the earlier study, Street, Vinter and Perrow, which was available to him. In that document, Jackson was reported to have expressed surprise about his staff's lack of concern and interest in the boys.²²

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p. 266.

Among the successor's objectives in changing the inmate rank-system was a reduction in the use of inmates to control their peers. Smith felt that inmate authority over inmates was inconsistent with the program and the goals that he defined for the organization. The inmate rank-system was more explicitly related to release and to the idea that a boy could earn his way out of the institution than was that of the earlier program. Accompanying the several steps toward release were increased rights and privileges as well as increased trust and responsibility. Instead of control by coercion, fear and sanctions, the changed program contemplated control by positive leadership qualities and example. Nevertheless, the residue of an earlier military model program was evident. Conformity and compliant behavior were the main criteria for successful adjustment of the inmates.

Jackson, to the contrary, employed and exploited client informal leadership while asserting that there was little that the informal inmate groups could do to threaten staff control over inmates. During Jackson's administration, a system of ranks and privileges had been employed to legitimize the cooptation of the inmate informal leaders.²³ That program had been initiated many, many years earlier and was carried over into the predecessor's regime. In exchange for their assistance in managing and controlling the other inmates, it provided inmate leaders with

²³Ibid., p. 53.

better work assignments and the power to prescribe punishment and influence the release dates of their peers. The practice of using inmates for organizational purposes other than the change goals was deeply imbedded in the operation of the institution and for many years was part of the organization's character.²⁴ Accordingly, the practices which Smith attempted to modify were highly resistant to change and the extent of change was modest.

Several factors contributed to Smith's inclination to modify this aspect of the program. First, he believed that earning one's own way and being successful in competition with others was the basis for getting along in the outside world. Second, he held a somewhat more positive and differentiated view of the boys, and this supported a new interpretation of the system of statuses and privileges. Third, he was informed about his predecessor's administration through the report of the earlier study. Fourth, he was more certain about the perspectives and loyalty of his staff. Nevertheless, most of the staff that had extensive contact with the boys had limited education. While they endeavored to meet the expectations placed upon them, their backgrounds and limited skills mitigated against changes in the traditional practices.

Another practice that derived from the character and traditions of the institution was the use of the boys

²⁴U.S. Government, Children's Bureau, 1946, op. cit.

for meeting sustenance and care goals of the organization, e.g., maintaining the physical plant and facilities and working in the farm program. They produced a large portion of the institution's food and both executives set high priority on farm production in validating the efficiency of their administration. However, it is exceedingly difficult to inventory farm produce that has to pass through many hands. Therefore, the exact amount that was produced and its contribution to the boys' diet was not clear. Smith believed that staff during the earlier administration had freely helped themselves to food produced by the farm and on one occasion, when he learned that some of his staff were taking milk from the dairy for their own table use, he was purple with rage. But the prevailing rural values and "farm culture" in America have made "keep" a part of the contract for farm labor. That, along with the local population's proprietary interest in the institution, tends to support both staff use of farm produce and the institution's use of inmate labor. In this area, there was one observable difference between the two administrations. Smith tried to strengthen the interpretation of inmate work on the physical plant as vocational training. About midway in the study he secured his own appointee as School Principal and with this man he moved to balance and integrate the academic and vocational education programs. Since the principal was clearly a choice of the executive, he was able to reduce the farm program's disruption of

educational activities. During the predecessor's administration, the crop schedule came first.²⁵

Executive Strategy as Role Performance:
Balancing Diverse Expectations

Thus far we have considered executive strategies as an explication of a series of pre-conditions that shape those strategies. We have indicated that strategies viewed as means for dealing with conflicting demands and problematic issues will provide a basis for projecting the organizational behavior that should obtain, both externally and internally. Internally, the goals formulated by the executives, the policies that they developed, the organizational technology employed and the character of the institution provide a background against which the internal behavior of the organization can be examined. The slight differences in goals leads us to hypothesize few changes in the internal structure and to anticipate minimal change in the perspectives and sub-system relations manifested by staff and inmates. Externally, we may view the replacement as a disruption of role relationships in the crucial boundary position of the organization; also it constitutes a change in the position holder in lieu of abridging a segment of the role-set (which permitting an executive of the opposition party to continue to serve would accomplish).²⁶ Together, these provide a basis

²⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 52.

²⁶R. K. Merton, "Continuities in a Theory of Reference Groups and Social Structure," op. cit., p. 379.

for comparing the modal "role performance mechanisms" employed by our two executives.²⁷ We are particularly concerned with how the range and volume of transactions are influenced by executive role performance mechanisms and the way in which the goals that have been formulated both bear on and are influenced by the mechanisms employed.

The transactions that we focus upon are the following: The flow of information regarding the organizational image, resources and markets (funds, personnel, inmates, technologies, post-discharge placements, etc.), and the sanctions which influence coordination and cooperation with elements of the organization sets that are relevant.²⁸ The mechanisms are conceptualized in terms of the manner in which they restrict observability or seek to modify or accommodate to the demands expressed. The demands may be modified by influencing elements in the organization set. Which elements are subjected to influence bears significantly on expectations imposed and the congruency and balance of pressures among elements of the organization set. It is assumed that we are dealing with conflicting and ambiguous demands and that the boundary role incumbent must perform in a manner which protects his status. Presumably,

²⁷N. Gross, W. S. Mason and A. W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957).

²⁸W. Evens, "The Organization Set" in Approaches to Organizational Design, J. D. Thompson, ed. (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh, 1966), pp. 173-191.

the choice among elements and of mechanisms is conditioned upon an evaluation of the sanctions and power of elements of the organization set and the executive seeks to minimize costs to the organization in avoiding the most severe negative sanctions and in obtaining the greatest rewards in terms of positive sanctions.

Although the terms used above may be applied to a situational analysis, we are concerned with modal patterns which reflect the style of the executive and describe the type of foreign relations that he believes appropriate. What he believes appropriate stems on the one hand from the goals that he formulates and on the other hand from the way that he views the environment. At the most general level there are four dimensions which reflect orientation to the environment: (1) fatalism (resignation vs. optimism), (2) time perspectives (immediacy vs. long run), (3) traditionalism (authoritarian vs. innovative), and (4) specificity (concreteness vs. abstractness). Each of these dimensions holds implications for the type of policy that executives will establish in dealing with the environment.²⁹

²⁹These perspectives are based on responses that have been attributed to "powerlessness" and "alienation." They are related to modes of orientation that are derived from lack of ability to manipulate or control the environment. Their use here is based on an a priori notion about "culture system" influences on means-ends relationships. The theoretical antecedents are Merton's work on anomie and a large body of literature on lower-class perspectives. The basic assumption is that institutions incorporate values and perspectives consistent with their position in the social system's status structure of organizations, e.g., organizations at the bottom of the "totem pole,"

The executives described both tend to have perspectives which are closer to the end of the continuum referenced by the first of each pair of terms mentioned in our listing. However, slight variations derive from differences in background and commitment. The political use that the predecessor made of the position and the "crisis" when he took over the position imply greater immediacy in his orientation to the environment than would be the case for the successor, who identified with the position as the apex of a career. The political conditions for Jackson, a minority party member from outside the county, suggest circumstances that would be less amenable to his influence; they also imply that he probably would be more fatalistic about the environment. His background as a teacher and politician tend to support traditionalistic perspectives, but probably no more so than the railroad experience and office of sheriff did for the successor. Even though both executives were strongly oriented toward concreteness, the differences in education and the local background of the successor might suggest a greater inclination in that direction.

Summary

The earlier examination of the influences on the have perspectives much like people at the bottom of the "totem pole." The prevailing regional norms are described in Chapter 3, along with references for the above perspectives. It also appears that the dimensions above may be applicable to the analysis of the internal strategies of executives.

executives' strategies and goals indicates both similarities and differences. First, despite comparable views and perspectives about human behavior and about human relations principles for managing people, the two executives differed in their views of the executive position, in their ambitions, as well as in the routes they traveled in attaining the executiveship. Jackson was more self-assured, more expansive and better educated. Second, he took office in a crisis and operated as a member of the minority party and as an outsider in the local area. Also, he was subjected to greater patronage pressures than Smith, who used his local background and longer period in office to extend his influence on the patronage system and to exercise more choice in filling institutional positions. Third, Jackson's background in a traditional institution (education) and the legislature tended to contribute to what Street designated "resigned conservatism."³⁰ The executives differed in the above respects, but the characteristic which most sharply separated Smith from his predecessor was his local origin. He shared the local proprietary interest in the institution and looked upon himself as a representative of local interests in statehouse activities. For example, he obtained information on contracts, emphasized local needs and provided jobs for local residents. The fact that he could exercise more influence on appointments enabled him to build a

³⁰ Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 265.

staff that was obligated to him and loyal to him. Nevertheless, the many ideas and views that the executives had in common, forces us to conclude that the environment produced candidates with similar perspectives and that the demands of the party system reinforced the selection of traditionally oriented, conservative appointees. We would expect the representative of the minority party to be more deviant than a majority party member in regards to perspectives and ideology; but that did not appear to be the case here.

The discussion of the perspectives, aims and programs of the two executives emphasized the distinctions between the two administrations, yet in some respects they were much alike. The differences served to link certain areas of aims and goals with the organizational outcomes that derived from the executive's strategies. Both executives emphasized visible features of the institution, such as the physical plant, farm productivity and the escape rate. These are unambiguous and concrete phenomena, which are consistent with a simplistic view of organizational purposes and ready evaluation of accomplishment.

Both administrations were strongly tied to the traditions that they inherited, but they occupied the executive position under significantly different circumstances, and these shaped their missions and the use that each made of the position. Further, both executives were highly dependent upon the information provided by a non-political

staff member, the Chaplain, whose long tenure and independent auspices gave legitimacy to his views and fostered identification with traditional perspectives and crucial features of the organization's character. Only after three years in office was the successor able to realize his dependence on the chaplain and his opposition to change. Subsequent to that time the successor was more willing to risk program changes. Co-incident with this shift was a change in the power balance within his own political party. His continued tenure was contingent upon support from the faction of the party represented by the head of the parent organization. The emergent power of this new interest and its influence on his tenure rendered the successor more compliant in accepting somewhat more positive views about inmate potential and slightly more extensive efforts within his organizational aims.

Both the executives held similar perspectives of the environment, so they should be expected to use similar mechanisms for dealing with problematic situations. Generally, both executives should be expected to employ mechanisms that restrict observability, e.g., withdrawal, insulation, barriers to movement across organizational boundaries, control over the number of boundary positions defined, etc. This holds particularly in respect to issues affecting the organizational image.

Boundary transactions relating to the movement of resources, such as money, staff and inmates require

relationships with the environment that are contingent, on the one hand on the structure of the organization set, e.g., market conditions, and, on the other hand, the bargaining power of the executive. Each of the areas mentioned above pose separate problems and each will be treated separately as we examine the external strategies of the two executives. At that time we will consider how the mechanisms employed by each executive shape the coordinative and cooperative patterns with elements of the organization sets and the exchange of influence between the organization and interests comprising various organization sets, as well as the affects on organizational programs and activities.

CHAPTER V

THE EXECUTIVES AND THEIR EXTERNAL STRATEGIES

Introduction

In order to appreciate the fit of the institution to the environment and to understand how the institution adapts to the environment, it is necessary to examine the vehicles by which the institution learns of environmental responses to its behavior. It is equally important to consider the means by which the environment is informed of organizational behavior and the bases of the environment's response. Implicit in both considerations is the notion of organization-environment contact or a relationship which permits the flow of information across the organization's boundary and provides the basis for interpreting and guiding ego.

The boundary structure of the organization determines the points of contact with interests in the environment; while environmental interests, which vary in their advertency and saliency in respect to the institution, employ a variety of relational techniques for attending to institutional behavior.¹ The number and range of

¹L. Ohlin, "Conflicting Interests in Correctional Objectives," Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960), pp. 119-121. Ohlin employs "advertency" to denote

environmental interests to which the institution attends and the type of boundary structure created by the executive are major features of the executive's external strategy. The first, on one hand, reflects his perception of the environment and is implicit in the goal definition that he provides the organization and, on the other hand, is a potential source of organizational crisis. Failure to attend to emerging interests or to be aware of shifts in potency may have implications for the level and type of resources obtained, the organization's image and even the tenure of the executive.² The second also reflects the executive's view of the environment, but more importantly it reflects the executive's definition of his role and in particular his boundary role.

The executive may give more or less attention to the external affairs of the institution than to its internal affairs. He may select personnel in a way to minimize ties with some segments of the environment and to maximize others and he may establish policies shaping the external activities of his staff. He may retain for himself the majority of extra-organizational activities important to the organization, or he may distribute them among staff. If the distribution of tasks within the organization includes

the inverse of the threshold of organizational behavior to which interest groups respond and uses "saliency" to represent the scope of an interest group's activities that are relevant to organizational behavior.

²Ibid.

boundary-crossing activities, the manner in which particular boundary areas are assigned and the criteria governing staff in their external relations become essential features of the executive's strategy.

Therefore, in comparing the external strategies of our two executives, we first compare their role definitions, especially the boundary segments, and the boundary structures that they create. We then compare the organization's relational pattern to the environment by considering the organization sets in each of four areas (protecting the organization's image, securing funds, recruiting staff, and managing the flow of inmates) and by considering the points of contact with the organization; we treat the organization as the focal position for the organization sets and view the boundary role definitions as mediating the flow of information to the organization and its response.³

In each of the above four areas we consider the advertency, saliency and potency of each of the interest groups comprising the set, the number and range of elements within the set, the structure of the set, as well as the relational techniques employed by the interest groups.⁴

From the organizational side of the relationship we consider the level of organizational investment, the

³Evan, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-191.

⁴Ohlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-126.

relational patterns employed under each executive by considering the range and volume of transactions with elements of organization sets, the distance between the elements and the organization and the pressures on the organization that develop. We identify the environmental constraints imposed on the organization over the two administrations and the organization's impact on the environment.

Executive Role Definition and Organizational
Boundary Structure

The goal emphasis of each executive directs attention to the organizational technology employed, which includes staff quality, role definitions, and organizational structure. The kind of relationships expected between staff and inmate assume principles of human behavior which apply equally to the management of staff. The predecessor's expectation of overt conformity and deference demanded no special training for staff. Despite the number of staff engaged in similar activities and the presence of department heads, the executive delegated little in responsibility. Accordingly his role definition included supervision of all internal activities. In a corresponding manner, he attended to all external demands. The requirements to "care for" and "contain" the inmates posed modest resource demands on the executive. Containment was consistent with his deference technology and his use of negative sanctions. The need to accommodate to party demands for positions led to the acquisition of staff who were of doubtful loyalty.

Jackson's expectations of staff behavior, required that they leave the job and what had occurred at the institution behind them when they were away from the institution, but his ability to control leakage of organizational events to the surrounding community was limited. Because of his reluctance to trust staff, Jackson personally controlled all boundary-crossing activities and centralized external relations in his own position. He discouraged outside trips for the boys and service activities within the institution by volunteer groups.⁵ Both of these policies were aimed at avoiding observations of boys' behavior that might be interpreted unfavorably for the institution. It is apparent that this executive sought to maintain an impermeable boundary structure in which he tried to control the conditions under which inmates were exposed to outside observation.

He not only restricted staff in respect to boundary-crossing activities relevant to organizational needs and tasks, but his refusal to accept the validity of any special training or education, e.g., his ideas about social workers, led to prohibiting staff, even the executive core, from attending outside conferences on corrections. It is difficult to say how much budget restrictions were a part of the explanation for this policy, but such restrictions on boundary-crossing activities were consistent with the rest

⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 73.

of the boundary structure, e.g., closely controlled by the executive.

The executive's concern with political demands, that the institution be a credit to the party, is evident in the manner in which he defined his role. Since he was held wholly responsible for organizational events and took office in a crisis situation that led to the removal of his predecessor, the most powerful sanctions and most relevant expectations were those imposed by the state's administration, the parent organization and his political party. That he perceived these conditions as beyond his control was evident in his complaints about being unable to control recruitment for positions.

His prior experience as a legislator and as a member of the committee on penal institutions supported his notion that he was better qualified to deal with those interests than any other personnel. The appointee to the social service staff, who was well placed in the party and had ties to news media, also undertook missions to the state capitol on behalf of the institution. Whether the geographical isolation of the institution precluded active membership in educational associations or whether selective recruitment secured teachers whose weak associational interests were established before they became staff members and, hence were not affected by institutional practices is not known; in any event, there was no evidence that there was environmental-organizational contact in this area.

Jackson's political career aims also were integrated in his role definition and in his extra-organizational activities. Maintaining control of external relations increased the opportunities for meeting the public and served to identify him with both the institution and political activity. He saw himself as a political figure and conducted himself and the institution with considerable consistency in respect to those aims and viewed the position as the means for enhancing his political career.

Although Smith's goal emphasis was similar, leading to comparable organizational technology, his satisfaction with the position as a career goal, his perception of himself as a representative of local interests and the circumstances of his appointment gave rise to a different role definition and a different boundary structure. His definition of his role was less pretentious and less expansive than that of his predecessor. Prevalent regional norms about administrative leadership lay behind both the predecessor's and successor's use of authority and sanctions. These were traditional rather than enlightened ideas (egalitarian processes designed to secure feed-back and suggestions for organizational policies) and along with the political patronage system supported elements of debureaucratization in managing the institution, e.g., emphasis on loyalty, contribution of the institution to sustaining the dominance of the controlling elite, personal criteria rather than technical criteria in appointments and decisions. However, as indicated

earlier the successor controlled appointments and was more certain of staff loyalty.⁶ At first, he created barriers between organization and outside world and remained sensitive to and concerned with unfavorable interpretations of organization events. By the fall in 1964, he employed a boundary structure which engaged selected staff with important elements of the environment, e.g., members of the executive core and department heads were sent to conferences of associations of similar institutions and visited other institutions, as did the executive. Also, he expected and received a defense of the institution by staff residing in and visiting the local community.

While the qualifications for staff positions were unchanged, except political party affiliation, the successor's expectation of greater differentiation among inmates and of greater use of positive sanctions by staff increased the complexity of their assignments. This led to increased use of department heads, but at times to considerable dissatisfaction with them by the executive, and hence the successor remained almost as fully engaged with the direct management of staff as his predecessor had been. He was able, however, to use his assistant and some of the department heads with more confidence than his predecessor and accordingly was released from some internal and external demands.

Giving much of his attention to the completion of contracted work at the institution, which he saw as a

⁶Supra, Ch. IV.

coordinative task, served to make contractors aware of his presence. It also helped the executive establish relations that might serve local interests.

By 1964 public appearances and public relations engagements were not crucial for him as they had been for his predecessor. He used the Chaplain, who had developed the slides and narrative used in speaking engagements by the predecessor, to handle most obligations of that type while Smith undertook public relations in the local community.

Since his change goals were not much more extensive than his predecessor's and the type of staff was the same, his claims for funds were based on his asserted intentions to improve care and facilities, purposes consonant with his obligation to contribute to a positive appraisal of his party's administration. His ties with an important member of the legislative committee on budget and his efforts to help local interests secure state contracts both required "private" rather than "public" activities. This was also true of his activities with law enforcement agencies and judges, which he undertook in order to obtain inmates consistent with his goal emphasis and his view of delinquents.

Although some features of the administrative style of the two executives were similar, the orientation of the successor to local community interests, the dominance of his party and his links with law enforcement and judicial interests helped shape his boundary role in a manner that was distinct from that of Jackson. The resulting boundary

structure engaged a larger number and a wider range of staff in boundary-crossing activities and permitted Smith to concentrate in areas that integrated his strengths and his goal emphasis.

Initially, Smith sought to insulate the institution from the environment and to manage, personally, the external affairs of the institution like his predecessor. In the fall of 1964 he relaxed his controls over boundary-crossing activities and began to engage the institution more fully with environmental interests. This occurred under pressure from the parent organization and was precipitated by the appointment of a liaison person with vocational rehabilitation background. This circumvented Smith's control over information about the organization and transmitted directly to him the interest of the parent organization in more extensive inmate change. This happened following a shift in power within his own party. While he had been defensive of his goals and proud of his low escape rate, which he emphasized to executives of other institutions at regional conferences, he apparently had reservations derived from other perspectives. That this resulted in some strain is evident in his response to their inquiry when he attributed the low escape rate to the weather rather than organizational practices, e.g., "It was a severe winter."

Organizational-Environmental Relations

Protecting the Organization's Image. This area of executive strategy involves the broadest range and the greatest number

of potential interest groups.

The predecessor who with his social service director undertook all organizational efforts in this area employed public relations methods. He addressed women's clubs and similar organizations throughout the state and his social service director prepared and disseminated releases to mass media. This was a diffuse effort, but it served the predecessor's political aspiration. It also was an attempt to neutralize pressures emanating from the local community, which maintained the highest level of advertency and saliency of all interest groups. This interest group was extremely potent because of traditional, local proprietary interests in state facilities and because the local community had access to the institution through local residents on the staff. Events such as escapes required the aid of local law enforcement authorities, e.g., the successor, in apprehending escapees. Thus the community was well informed about organizational events.

Among other interest groups few had access to information and opportunity to observe the institution. These groups included the Citizens' Committee, the legislative committee assigned to penal institutions, other committees assigned to study institutional conditions, representatives of the parent organization, and sheriffs responsible for delivering inmates. But the above interests could observe the institution only at infrequent intervals and then only for brief periods of time. Their saliency was related to the

political implications of organizational events, the correctional program and the care of inmates. Their potency depended upon influence over appointments, access to the public and mass media and sanctions over resources (funds and inmates). The Citizens' Committee depended upon prominent members, who included the eventual governor (at the end of the study) and ties with a national organization.

It is obvious that the large number and wide range of interests constitute an organization set which the organization could contemplate and manage only with difficulty. The public relations methods of the predecessor tended to maintain distance between the organization and elements of the organization set. In addition, it was a technique with minimal potential for exercising influence.^{7,8,9} The saliency of political issues and the minority position of Jackson's party provided a situation pregnant with risk and limited in promise.

Under Smith, the local area became an ally, which enabled him to focus his energies on interests he was likely to influence successfully. Since the advertency of

⁷E. Katz and P. Lazarsfeld, Personal Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 1-100.

⁸E. Litwak, "Policy Implications in Communications Theory with Emphasis on Group Factors," in Behavioral Science for Social Workers, E. J. Thomas (ed.) (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 103-117.

⁹E. Litwak and H. J. Meyer, "A Balance Theory of Coordination Between Bureaucratic Organizations and Community Primary Groups," Administrative Science Quarterly, V (June, 1966), pp. 41-53.

institutional behavior is slight for most social and fraternal organizations, the threat that they posed to the organization's image was minimal. The local environment was helpful in apprehending runaways without bulletins to mass media. Among interest groups whose saliency was contingent on political issues, the dominance of his party limited sanctions. Local interests, legislative interests, and particularly the legislative committee had supported traditional perspectives of correctional programs, i.e., protection of the local community, adequate (though minimal) levels of care of inmates and overt compliance. Therefore, it is necessary to examine regional trends that might reflect any shift in perspectives during this study.

During the eight-year period from 1957 (immediately prior to the appointment of Jackson) to 1965, legislative performance indicated continual pressure for more liberal and progressive legislation in the area of corrections, i.e., increased rationality in administrative structure, increased humanitarianism and concern with human rights, increased differentiation of offenders and increased support for professionalization of staff. Not only was there continuing pressure in the above direction, but there also seemed to be increased public concern and support, at least to the extent that the passage of legislation signifies accommodation to the public's wishes.¹⁰ Accordingly, traditional

¹⁰A bill to eliminate capitol punishment was passed by the state legislature in 1965. A measure to revise the

interests alluded to above were losing potency during these eight years, and groups such as the Citizens' Committee, child welfare interests and juvenile courts were gaining in potency.¹¹ Another example is provided by the fact that there had been no formal juvenile court judges' association prior to the fall of 1961, thus judges' influence was exercised individually. Interviews with about half of the juvenile judges indicated great heterogeneity in background, court practices and views of juvenile corrections.¹²

criminal code, providing assistance in the defense of alleged offenders and protecting their rights was also passed the same year. Both of these measures had been proposed at several earlier sessions.

¹¹A measure written by the Citizens' Committee in 1957 contained provisions for: (a) an autonomous department of corrections, (b) a non-partisan board to set policy and govern the appointment of the department head, (c) professional personnel at the upper level of the department, (d) a merit system for lower level personnel, (e) control over adult probation and parole, and (f) elimination of the state board of probation and parole. The measure had not been referred out of committee for passage until 1965, when it was passed. However, state administration argued that the proposal had to be modified to secure passage. Charged with aiding the committee was the governor's special assistant, who was head of the parent organization. In its final form only provisions "e" and "f" were retained.

In its original form the above measure would have reduced the parent organization to responsibility for only eleemosynary institutions (Homes for the Aged, Deaf, Blind, etc.) Obviously there was a conflict in interest for the head of the parent organization.

The events above illustrate the difficulty of negotiating change with established interests and the importance of local proprietary interests and patronage in the service programs of the state. Nevertheless the legislation can be interpreted as a compromise step in the direction supported by the Citizens' Committee and other progressive correctional interests.

¹²A stratified, random sample of courts, ordered according to delinquency rates, incarceration rates and geographic area was employed.

Although Smith had a large number and range of interests to contemplate, shifts in the structure and potency of some interests made it possible to influence their perspectives and more efficiently provide them with information about the institution and its program. Under the auspices of the parent organization, the heads of all juvenile institutions attended conferences for juvenile court judges. Executives of correctional institutions not only had an opportunity to listen to the same speakers that had been brought from outside the region, but they had an opportunity to discuss their programs and to present inmates to tell what it was like. The interviews with judges revealed that few had any firsthand knowledge of the institution previously. Sessions like that mentioned above had the potential for offsetting other sources of information and gaining support for the institution's program.

The situation for Smith was one of decreasing risk and increasing promise, although the shift within his own party created uncertainty until he was re-appointed. His co-optation by the parent organization and the exposure of Smith and his executive core to comparative reference organizations at regional conferences for juvenile correctional institutions contributed to the modest change in goal emphasis, e.g., somewhat more inmate change. The reduced distance between the organization and some elements of this organization set increased the exchange of influence and legitimated the modest shift in goal emphasis.

Securing Funds.--Jackson desired funds for improving physical facilities, in particular a swimming pool. He also wanted to improve buildings at the institution and, in accordance with criticisms of the Citizens' Committee's study, sought funds to improve vocational education. He was assisted by his new social service director in his extra-organizational efforts. As a state agency, the institution was guaranteed at least a minimal level of support. Many departments competed for the state's revenue and the share allocated to each was contingent upon ability to establish the importance of the department's activities, and determined its portion of the state's income. Influence depended upon the interests mobilized to support each agency.

Correctional programs in general have tended to rank low among states' activities. In part because the public has been reluctant to "reward" wrongdoers and in part because of the tendency for correctional programs to keep out of the main stream of public attention. This would seem to be the case for juvenile corrections, as well, but less so, to the extent concern with children and youth prevail.¹³ Further, traditional interests and ideas about corrections are well established in correctional programs. Consequently, mobilizing support and increasing the share of resources allocated to such programs demand a high level of commitment

¹³Zald, op. cit., pp. 57-67.

and energy.¹⁴

The effort expended by the predecessor in order to increase his appropriation was not extensive. He did not attempt to secure the support of "progressive" interests, such as, the Citizens' Committee or the Child Welfare Division of the State's Welfare Department. He sought the support of his former colleagues in the state legislature and the help of the parent organization. He used political means to seek support in a situation in which they could not work, i.e., as a member of the minority party. He was not successful in obtaining the increases he sought and he was unable to obtain the desired facilities. Jackson indicated that the county in which the institution was located did not have sufficient votes to provide the bargaining power for an increase in appropriations.¹⁵

However local interests in state resources were mediated through the political parties. Local representatives built their records in part on what they could obtain for the area that they represented. Obviously it is difficult for a minority party to secure "its share" for the areas it represents. Further, the appointment of an executive from outside the local county constituted a diversion of the local appropriations. In light of the manner in which "pork barreling" operates (to sustain the dominance

¹⁴Ohlin, op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

of local representatives), the executive could hardly expect the legislature controlled by the opposition to provide the means for facilitating his political aspirations.

The advertency of correctional programs tended to be low for legislative appropriations' interests. The saliency was contingent upon political considerations and the potency was a function of political dominance. The relational technique employed by the legally constituted interests governing the allocation of funds to the institution was through budget hearings, parent organization reports, the assigned legislative committee, local legislative representatives and the political party structure. It is the last mentioned that influenced appointments and to which the executive had a commitment. Illustrative of the manner in which inability to dominate legislative processes affected resources, appointments and programs was the action of the legislature in refusing confirmation of the governor's initial appointee to head the parent organization.¹⁶

Smith employed a similar boundary structure for securing funds, but operated under opposite conditions. He represented local interests and what he asked for was interpreted as an allocation to the community in which the

¹⁶The governor's initial candidate tried to implement a more efficient institutional structure in the state; but, because he disturbed established interests and threatened local proprietary rights, the legislature refused to confirm him.

institution was located. In hiring local residents and seeking contracts for local interests he co-opted their support in behalf of the institution. He engaged in some lobbying with legislators, but focused his attention on the legislative committee for penal institutions. Because of his personal influence with a prominent member of the legislative committee on appropriations, lobbying legislators was unimportant.

The successor employed private persuasion and co-optation of local interests to secure the financial support required by his program in the institution. In a few years he was able to double Jackson's appropriations. During Smith's regime new water lines had been installed, a new main connecting the institution with the water system in the nearby community was obtained (also, enabling the community to sell more water), a new boiler had been provided and funds were allocated for a new sewer system.

Most of the increases were for facilities and improvements of the physical plant, but funds for additional staff allowed Smith to extend the vocational program. The economic recession that took place during the administration of the predecessor was replaced by an expanding economy. A comparison of the gain in appropriations with the total state budget and with appropriations of other spending units indicated that only one third to one half of the increased appropriations could be attributed to increased prosperity, thus the balance of the increase accrues to Smith's efforts.

The chief change among the interest groups that had relevance for funds, was in the legislative dominance of the party that controlled appointments. The interests to which Smith attended had greater potency and were able to control funds in a manner to facilitate dominance. The fact that he had ties with a member of the legislative appropriations committee increased the salience of the organization to legislative interests and to the parent organization. However, like his predecessor, he did not seek the attention and support of other interests that were committed to more progressive correctional programs. The major distinctions between the two executives in this area are the more restricted and focussed efforts of the successor, the increased saliency to and potency of the interests to which he attended, and the congruency of local interests and his efforts for the institution. In essence Smith facilitated the integration of grass roots and upper echelon perspectives and interests.

Staffing the Institution. In this area the predecessor used the same boundary structure as in other areas of institutional needs. The chief problems that Jackson faced were the pressures from the party for more positions than were available and the referral of personnel that he felt were unsuited for the job.¹⁷ His program did not require special education or training, except for teachers, and the recession made recruitment easy. Implicit in the patronage system

¹⁷Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

is the notion of obligation and loyalty to the source of the appointment. To the extent that Jackson had to accept recommendations without choice, the loyalty of his staff and their commitments were to other factions and geographic areas than Jackson's. His anti-social work and anti-professional bias precluded the problem of recruiting such staff in the face of inadequate salaries and working conditions. It also enabled Jackson to avoid the problem of accounting to interests whose perspectives differed sharply from his own. However, the Citizens' Committee that completed a study of the institution in 1957 was aware, through their study, of staffing policies and criticized the institution in their report on this account. They continued to relate to the institution through the judiciary and through prominent members who had access to the legislature and the parent organization.

The relational methods of the predecessor in recruiting staff had several observable consequences. Because Jackson provided positions for party faithfuls after the party's defeat at the polls in 1958, he was obliged to discharge staff who had been held over from earlier administrations and who were local members of the opposition party. In discharging them he mobilized local opinion antagonistic to the institution and his administration. Because of the depressed economic state, hence the value of employment per se and the complete dependence upon patronage for recruitment, his staff identified with the economic aspects of

their positions and with the control aspects of the organization's purpose (which were related to Jackson's mandate in accession to office).¹⁸ Jackson also faced difficulty in obtaining competent personnel for the more responsible positions at the institution because of the patronage system. It is true that the party exercised more control over higher paying and more important positions at the institution, but the resourceful administrator is not lacking means for influencing personnel that fill important positions. In addition, it appeared that he was more concerned about the weakness that such appointments created in his boundary structure and his ability to control information about the institution than performance, especially since the technical prerequisites for the positions required by his operational mode were minimal.

Smith, faced similar problems, but was able to deal with the issues in a way that led to a different set of consequences. His local origin enabled him to meet the needs for positions in the institution in a more informed manner. He discriminated among referrals for lower level staff positions. He was familiar with the orientation and background of applicants and assured himself of their loyalty, and of their attitudes toward children and the job in the institution. He attempted to secure positions for his own nominees. While he was rebuffed on occasion, he was able in the long run to either structure the tasks or weed

¹⁸Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 266.

out personnel not suited to the operation that he was implementing.¹⁹

The successor was much more aggressive in seeking personnel to staff the institution and many of the staff had been approached and persuaded to take the job. Economic conditions were better; but, since the state tended to be economically depressed, there usually was a labor surplus. The labor surplus along with the absence of educational pre-requisites for most positions eased the recruitment task. His success in increasing his budget helped in securing and retaining desired personnel. In order to keep salaries consonant with those in similar positions in other state agencies he redefined some of the jobs.²⁰

The successor through staffing practices achieved better control over the extra-organizational ties of his staff; secured personnel for his more important positions upon whom he could depend and to whom he delegated a measure of responsibility. Of course the limited background of

¹⁹The school principal that he acquired when he took over the institution was subjected continually to pressure from other staff and was the butt of derision. Finally, in the spring of 1964 in an altercation with a Negro teacher he was forced to resign. This provided another opportunity to recommend the person that he had initially sought and this time he was successful. Also, supra Ch. IV, pp. 86-87 and infra Ch. VI, p. 142.

²⁰Illustrative of this was the division of the cottage parents' positions into two positions for pay roll purposes. By providing a salary for the spouse that was separate and supplementary to what the husband was paid. The pay scale was comparable to other departments of the state government; yet families were reimbursed in a manner to make the position more attractive.

line staff created problems in carrying out the more complex assignments,

Managing the Flow of Inmates.---Both the quantity and quality of inmates are important to correctional institutions for juveniles. The quality (range of inmate characteristics such as offenses, age, background, etc.) is significant for the fit of the inmate to the institutional program. Some programs may tolerate a wider range of inmate characteristics than others; some programs may be contingent upon particular combinations of inmate characteristics. The quantity of inmates refers to both the rate at which inmates are received and the constancy of that rate. Since physical facilities are fixed in the short run, either a high constant rate or a very high periodic rate may overload institutional capacity. Further, many aspects of programming do not accommodate well to frequent and large variations in the number of inmates. Large size institutions in particular, tend to employ uniform procedures appropriate for an undifferentiate mass of inmates in order to secure advantages of economy. They are unable to vary the number of staff readily. Therefore, institutions need to concern themselves with the flow of inmates.

There are three areas in which the institution may accommodate to or influence the flow of inmates. It may focus on gatekeeping procedures that impinge on the input of inmates. It may vary its program and the program

implications for the length of stay. And it may act on the release procedure, the markets which accept the released inmates. Each of these areas is cumulative and interdependent in its effects. Facilitating the release process by securing a large bank of homes for inmates would be irrelevant, if the program were not prepared to release them at a corresponding rate. Unless the rate at which they were received also was increased the population would be reduced. Thus, variations in any of the three factors bear on the institution's capacity and require adjustment and coordination with the other two factors. Here we are concerned only with those aspects of operation that involve relations with external interests, so variations in program and length of stay are ignored for the time being.²¹

The flow of inmates to public institutions is mediated by the courts. The court may have a high or low rate of incarceration depending upon the philosophy of the court, local pressures and local resources for alternatives. In part their activity is contingent upon the delinquency rates and the juvenile population in the area that they serve. By their policies they may influence apprehension rates, detention rates and the rates of referral to the court. In any event, courts have some flexibility and engage in the same type of programming as institutions. Therefore they

²¹ *Infra*, p. 124. Variations in the quantity and quality of inmates had subtle, but important implications for the organizational image, the program, and environmental relations.

are the prime object of an executive's attention, when he attempts to influence the rate of flow of inmates, although it is conceivable that attention could be directed to law enforcement agencies or to the public at large.

The flow of inmates out of institutions is mediated by various child care agencies; in the circumstances that we are concerned with, the Child Welfare Division of the State Welfare Department and its district offices mediated releases. The discharge of an inmate required informing his home district of the impending release. They had to complete a home study to ascertain whether an appropriate home was available. In the event family or relatives could not provide a "proper" home, the agency would attempt to secure a foster home.

Jackson attended to relations with the judges and the courts more intensely than any other single sphere of activity.²² The boundary structure established in this area, again involved chiefly the executive, who employed personal contacts with individual judges and attended judiciary conferences.²³ The court structure of the state consisted of disparate jurisdictions, which were impossible to affect collectively, except indirectly by legislation. The courts were extremely varied; ranging from highly informal to those in which proceedings were identical with criminal court's proceedings. They varied in their degree

²²Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit., p. 72.

²³Ibid.

of punitiveness and in their sophistication and familiarity with modern treatment programs. They were equally variable in their knowledge of the institution and few judges had visited or had firsthand knowledge of its operation and program.²⁴ Their power within their jurisdictions (they tended to dominate the local political structure and governed the allocation of county funds) and at the state level made their support important to Jackson, particularly in light of his political ambitions.

Although trends in delinquency rates seem to have increased the flow of deviants to the courts and from the courts to institutions, so that most public institutions are subjected to population pressures, this was not characteristic of this institution under Jackson. They were able to retain football players until the season ended and, despite the criticism of the Citizens' Committee study and complaints by the fire marshal that the population exceeded capacity, there was no detectable concern in this area. While a new dormitory would have been accepted by the executive, he didn't perceive any likelihood of receiving enough funds for such a project and didn't press for expanded residential facilities. In 1957, a consultant from a federal agency to the parent organization had recommended that the number of state institutions for juveniles and youth be doubled, before the state undertake modernization and improvement of its program. But at the same time, the parent

²⁴Supra, p. 108.

organization was consolidating institutions and placing in mothballs those which were too costly to maintain.

Many characteristics of the state suggest that it should not have high delinquency rates, although some of these same characteristics also indicate why it would have a high rate of incarceration, e.g., low population density, out-migration rather than in-migration, predominantly rural, low level of urbanization and of industrialization, etc. The above characteristics are antithetical to high delinquency rates and are also antithetical to the development of local resources for deviants. Therefore, a large public facility is an economical way of providing such a resource. It appears that the courts were subject to considerable pressure, but Jackson could find no way by which he might accommodate them.

From Jackson's statements about the number of inmates for which his program was inappropriate, it is also unlikely that he was concerned about the quality of inmates. As suggested previously, his vigorous activities with the court were relevant to his political ambitions; however, it was also a response to demands and pressures. It had been customary for judges to intercede on behalf of families and to seek the release of an inmate, even though they had been responsible for incarcerating him. In part such practices may have been an attempt by the judge to extend the domain of the court. (Most judges in the state felt that the court should have authority over release as well as over probation

and parole services.) In part, the practice may have been an expression of political influence. Whatever the basis for it, the executive needed to tread gently and to avoid offending judges that committed inmates and requested releases of inmates.

In managing relations affecting the discharge process, both Jackson and his new social service director were active. They contacted the parent organization and top leadership in the party and state administration in order to reduce the backlog of inmates waiting for the completion of home studies in order to be released. The social service director, was energetic in her efforts to have home studies completed.²⁵ This involved contacts with district offices on occasion as well as the predominant effort to stimulate the state office of the Child Welfare Division.

Managing the flow of inmates appeared to be the object of as much effort as managing the organization's image. The large number of disparate interests both for input and output demanded a high level of attention and effort in order to maintain relationships, influence the flow of inmates and handle the judges requests. Yet there was no evidence of any change in inmate input or output.

Under the successor the boundary structure included only the executive for dealing with input sources. In this area, Smith's experience as sheriff prior to his appointment

²⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 267.

enabled him to relate on a personal basis with the judges and the sheriffs. The latter transported the boys to the institution and were the chief source of information to their home community and the court. Smith, unlike the predecessor did seem concerned about overpopulation. He commented on the running battle that some of the buildings required to placate the fire marshall. His relational techniques which enabled him to control the intake process and to influence inmate quality, thus, had program and through-put implications.²⁶

²⁶Some of the complex and subtle implications of accommodating to pressure from courts in areas lacking detention facilities and of reducing the length of stay are cited below.

(a) Implicit in a reduction in the period of retention is the notion that the inmates are not as "bad" as those who are retained for a longer period. Either they are more amenable to the program or they are not as dangerous.

(b) The belief mentioned above implies accommodation by several elements in the environment: the home community must be willing to accept the inmates sooner, the courts must be willing to accept the youth sooner and the child welfare worker must be willing to accept the youth.

(c) The notion that these are more normal boys, i.e., deprived rather than mean or bad suggests that the danger to the community in which the institution is located is less and is less likely to mobilize pressure for surveillance. It also means that a less severe program will be tolerated and that institutional events may be interpreted more readily in a positive manner, e.g., "boys will be boys," rather than "lax administration."

(d) With "better" boys being released it is possible to relax criteria for "appropriate" homes. Thus less rigorous home studies are demanded and less time is required for their completion. Although an increase in the caseload of child welfare workers would also be anticipated, the 1962 social security act amendments made is possible to increase the number of child welfare workers. Thus, there was no increase in the size of caseloads.

(e) The increased capacity to remove offenders from the local community reduced pressure from law enforcement

Some of the judges mentioned knowing Smith personally and indicated that they called him when a former inmate was coming up for a hearing. They would ask about the boy and seek the executive's recommendation in disposing of the case. Sometimes Smith would say, "Don't send him back here." Judges also pointed out that Smith would call them to let them know when a boy that they had committed was being released. The reference to making a recommendation suggests as much concern with the quality aspect of inmates as with quantity. This was also apparent in the concern that Smith expressed one time when the institution's population dropped below two hundred. Then he was worried that a lower population might lead to a reduction in his budget, which he associated with per diem costs.

The successor introduced two changes in the intake process that had implications for the flow of inmates and relations with the courts and law enforcement agencies. He invoked a program of processing new boys on only certain days and at certain times during the month. His rationale was that he wanted to be sure that space was available in the appropriate residence, also that, since special activity was required to process new boys, ample staff would be available. It did facilitate the programming of staff

officers and the community on the courts. It also reduced criticism of local detention practices (keeping children in jail). For evidence of the affect on inmate characteristics and the type of communities providing these inmates, see Table 20, Chapter VI, p. 181.

activity, but it also asserted the organization's control over the intake process and permitted more integrated indoctrination of new inmates. The process could deal with several boys at one time rather than a single boy at a time. Smith complained that the previous procedure permitted sheriffs to arrive at any hour of the day or night, when intake staff was not available. Inmates would be placed in any dormitory and would later have to be moved. The new policy would have forced many communities to keep children in jail (since proper detention facilities were not available), if the number of admissions had not been increased. Criticisms of local community detention practices had always been directed at the courts (the most direct and observable cause), rather than the institution.

Another change that occurred was the formation of an Association of Juvenile Court Judges. This provided an arena for judges to discuss and compare ideas. Smith attended these sessions and was able to influence the attitudes of some judges in regard to the type of inmate at the institution and the inmates response to the program. The level of investment for him was high in this area, but the personal relationships that he had with many of the judges and the development of a collectivity toward which he could direct his attention made his task in this area easier than it had been for his predecessor. However, in exchange for influence over the type of inmate provided by the courts and control over the intake program, Smith had to handle a

20% increase in the annual commitment rate (300-310 per annum in contrast with the earlier 250-260) without commensurate increase in facilities. This was accomplished by a reduction in the length of stay, i.e., 8-9 months instead of the 10-11 months under Jackson.

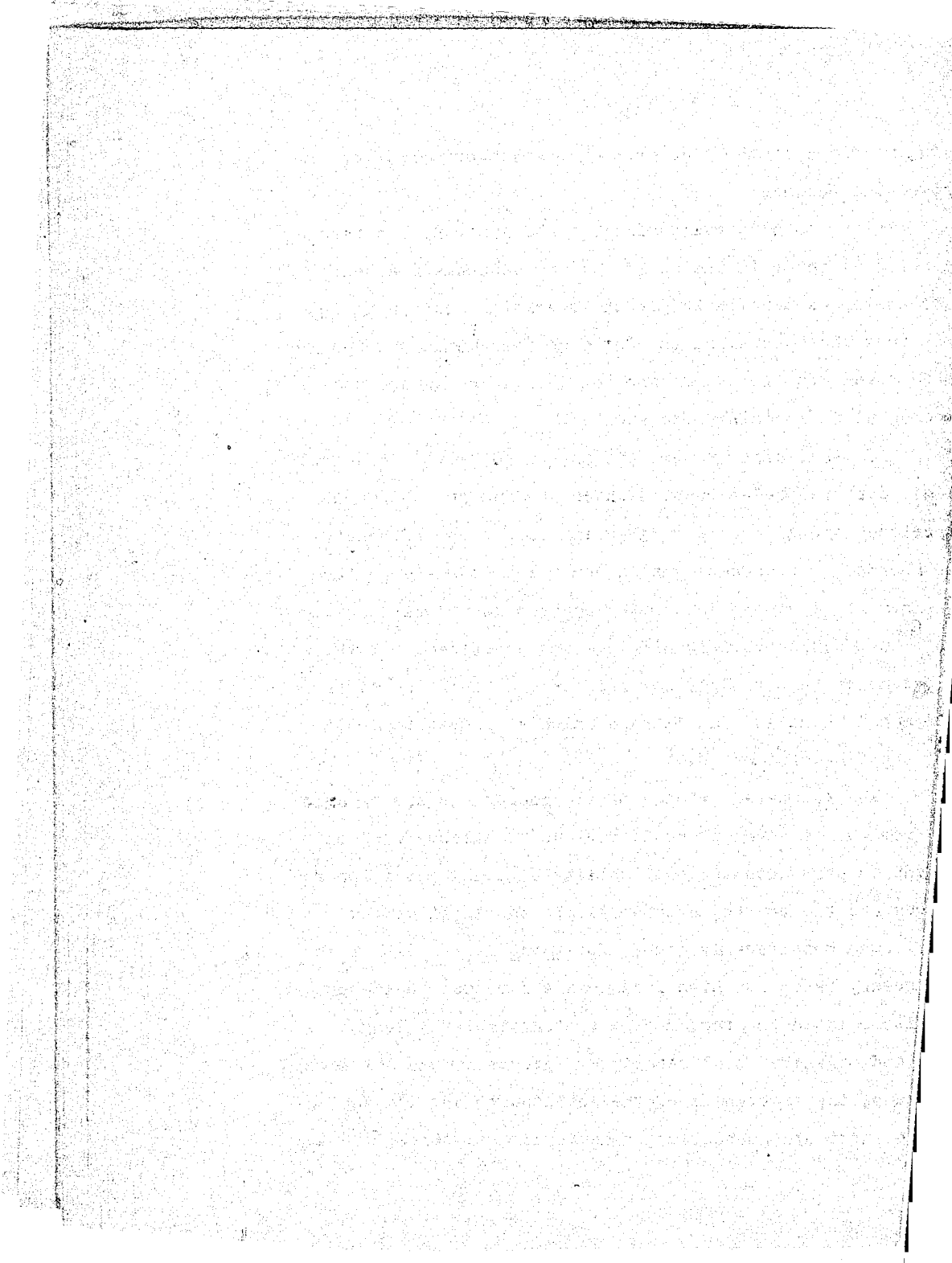
Smith had the same problems as Jackson in facilitating the release of inmates. However, he used his social service director both to obtain information on new inmates and to spur the completion of home studies. Early in his tenure he operated through the parent organization with only limited success. Better communications developed after the change in leadership in the parent organization, and after the State Welfare Department extended its in-service training program for new and existing workers, particularly following the appointment of a professional to direct the State Welfare Department. Child welfare workers who were to provide parole services and to make the home studies visited the institution as part of their orientation training. Demands at the state level had more meaning and the delay in processing releases was sharply reduced. He also instituted an advance notice system, which alerted the Child Welfare Division that a release was being considered, before it became official. Instead of sending forms to the parent organization, waiting for their return and then initiating a request for a home study, the request for the home study was forwarded at the same time the release request went to the parent organization. This resulted in completed home studies

being received by the time that the parent organization approved the release.

The social service director, because she had been a district director in the state welfare department at one time and had a part in the intake operation (obtaining records from the courts and the Child Welfare Division) was in an improved position to relate to these agencies and was successful in speeding home studies.

Smith's efforts were distinguished by the influence of his personal relationships which stemmed from his prior experience and a more thorough-going effort to influence the courts. His success was in part made possible by the development of a more integrated court system, which still manifested a wide variety of views and practices; but the emergence of this vehicle for increased integration mirrored a regional trend and facilitated Smith's efforts to influence the flow of inmates.

The increased potency of the courts' interests arising from such a development is obvious. Saliency was contingent in part upon the availability of local detention resources and the courts dependency upon the institution. Thus it was considerably higher for those courts with high delinquency rates and high incarceration rates. Saliency was also related to program aspects (particularly length of stay) and organizational capacity. Advertency was not high because of the remoteness of the institution and limited access to information about organizational activities. On the



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other hand, the Child Welfare Division, because of its central state office and the direct relation between workers and released inmates was characterized by high advertency and high saliency in respect to institutional activities. The worker had to provide services to the released youth, so almost all aspects of the program were relevant. Since the worker's load was contingent upon releases from the institution, the workers were highly sensitive to the rate of releases, the length of stay and program implications for the inmates.

Summary: Comparison of Extent and Areas of Environmental-Organizational Influences

Jackson's administration was marked by greater control of boundary transactions. His boundary structure was more restricted, in that with the single exception of his Social Service Director, he was the only member of the organization who engaged in official extra-organizational activities. The relational techniques that he used as role performance mechanisms may be characterized as those which restricted observability; rather than those which would facilitate either influencing the demands and pressures on the institution or accommodating to selected demands and pressures. They were consistent with propositions stated previously and they implied a series of consequences for the organization and the executive.^{27,28}

²⁷ Supra, Ch. IV, pp. 89-90.

²⁸ Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 36-88.

The consequences are evident in several areas that were pertinent to organizational development and the career of the executive. The limited resources allocated to the institution, the criticism of the executive activities and some features of his more severe program are symptoms of these consequences. In restricting observability, Jackson not only avoided external influences from impinging on staff and his program, but he denied himself information on prevailing trends (the emerging influence of progressive correctional interests) and lacked guidance for his external efforts. He failed to make the institution an asset to his party and did not enhance his position within the party, which would have protected his career interests. Instead of seeking new alternatives in his "foreign relations" program he was caught up in the traditional methods of the dominant party. In lieu of seeking local support (essential in the pursuit of precarious values)²⁹ and attempting to broaden the potential base of his support by alliances with non-political interests, his activities provided local issues that were detrimental to his party and his position within the party. They perpetuated local perspectives.

The consequences of Jackson's efforts became part of the mandate for his successor. Smith avoided public speaking engagements out of the local community, exploited

²⁹Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values: A Case Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), pp. 327-3361

personal influence to affect resources (staff, funds and inmates) and attempted to modify the severity of the program. He engaged more of his staff in boundary-crossing activity, thus exposing them to conditions which raised questions and afforded alternative reference models. Nevertheless, they did not appear to have surrendered their identification with the simplistic approach that had been traditional at the institution.

Smith's low-keyed efforts were more focussed, more private, and particularistic. He retained the support of the local community, but was rebuffed in his efforts to make community resources available to the inmates. His attention was directed toward coordinating the work of outside contractors at the institution, but he did not ignore institutional needs. He, too, used relational methods as role performance mechanisms that predominantly were characterized as restrictive of observability. But he managed this by co-opting the local community, representing its interests and employing its residents. Gradually, with the support of, as well as some pressure from, the parent organization, outside interests obtained access to the institution, e.g., testing services from the nearby university, representatives of the Job Corps and Vocational Rehabilitation and child welfare workers. Smith's relational patterns retained features that restricted observability; they also included features that, on one hand, facilitated modifying the demands of elements in the environment and, on the other hand,

contributed to organizational accommodation to some environmental demands.

The consequences of Smith's efforts also had implications for organizational development and his career. The support (increased budget, low level of criticism) that he mobilized for the institution's program increased his importance to his party; so, despite a power-shift within the party he retained his position and enabled the parent organization to engage him in a more extensive program. His management of relations with the local community increased the tolerance of local residents slightly for the somewhat more liberal program. His relations with the courts demanded mutual accommodation and more than any other single factor reveal the institution's response to societal trends toward humanitarianism, rationality, and professionalism, e.g., adapting to population pressure and securing control over the type of inmate and the intake process.

The organization should reflect these influences in its technology, staff sub-system responses and inmates sub-systems responses. For example, staffing practices and the presence of outsiders imply, on one hand, unchanged staff perspectives, but greater diversity; on the other hand, greater restraint in the exercise of severe sanctions. We should expect to find a shift in the importance of various staff groups, with vocational and educational personnel assuming greater prominence and farm and work supervisors less prominence. The inmates should be more suited to the conformity program, e.g., more accepting of deference and

obedience and less likely to develop oppositional informal groups.

Although progressive correctional interests grew in prominence, the emasculation of the legislation establishing a Department of Corrections indicates that those interests are still subsidiary to local proprietary interests and political interests. Further, the role performance mechanisms are consonant with the goal emphases of the executives, reflecting their background, their mission and the organizational character, and leading to identifiable problems both within and outside the organization for the institution and the executive. The problems of protecting the organizational image, recruiting staff, securing funds and managing the flow of inmates are hazardous. Isolating the institution presents one set of problems. It does not necessarily provide the executive security and certainly not opportunity. Ignorance of changes in advertency, saliency and potency of various interests may lead to serious repercussions. The alternate course is equally hazardous; for an expanding range of interests provide just as much opportunity for misjudgement and similar consequences. But, at least, access to information provides some basis for accommodating to the changing pressures, e.g., the successor's survival through a change in state administrations and signs of ideological convergence by the institution and its environment.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF EXECUTIVE INTERNAL STRATEGIES

Introduction

In this chapter there are three foci: (1) the organizational technology, (2) staff perspectives and relations, and (3) the inmate perspectives and relations that follow from the staff perspectives. The organizational technology is the staff-design for what Street considered "implementing the organizational thrust."¹ It is implicit in the balance and integration of the goals that the executives have specified and it is how the executive intends the organization to attain those goals. Accordingly, we compare each of the above areas of our two executives' administrations to ascertain the manner in which organizational technology and organizational behavior reflect the administration of each executive and the areas of similarity and difference.

The organizational technology refers to the pattern of staff effort employed to attain the organization's

¹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 93.

purposes. It includes the kind of staff procured, the division of labor within the institution, the allocation of authority and autonomy to staff, the procedure for inculcating organization goals and the communication and coordination techniques that are used.

The type of staff (the range of their experience, training and education) determines not only the range of program activities that they are capable of undertaking, but also the appropriate management techniques. Thus, staff qualities signify the type and extent of inmate change contemplated and some aspects of administrative style. The division of labor, in part, reflects the necessities of managing a residential center for youth and the requirements for their care and education. But the range of tasks, the extent of differentiation and the degree of specialization also depend upon the complexity of organizational goals, i.e., the type and extent of inmate change sought and the variety of specialized activities that are included in the institution's program.

The allocation of autonomy, authority, and resources to various departments indicates the relative importance of their contribution to the organizational purposes. These allocations reveal the executive's confidence in the staff of the department and also yield information about the executive's administrative style. The procedure for inculcating organizational goals informs us further of his administrative style and mirrors his understanding of human

behavior. It provides a model for staff behavior and tends to promote a specific range of responses to the job and to the organization's purpose.

The communication and coordination techniques employed also provide a model for staff; but they particularly bear on the clarity and understanding of policies and directives among staff and determine areas of ambiguity, conflict and tension among departments. They are central to the integration of staff and the consistency of organizational effort. Therefore, they determine the level of organizational energy devoted to organizational maintenance, and the energy available and devoted to tasks essential to the organization's purposes.

Staff perspectives of the organization's goals, of delinquency and of ways of affecting inmate behavior condition the behavior of staff toward one another and toward inmates. They provide criteria for responding to the activities of employees of other departments, define appropriate activity for staff and the relative importance of various tasks which have been assigned to staff. The effectiveness of recruitment and of indoctrination of staff and the adequacy of the communications and of coordination techniques are reflected by staff perspectives. They are the expression of the executive's intentions at the operational level, where all the contingencies of daily events, unanticipated events and inexplicit demands have their nexus. They reveal areas at the operational level where executive

programs depart from the executive's ideals, how aspects of organizational technology contribute to that divergency, and the antecedents of inmate perspectives and relations.

Inmate perspectives and relations denote the views that inmates have of staff and of the institution and the responses to the attitudes of staff and to staff treatment, respectively. They include the inmate sub-system norms about appropriate inmate behavior and reveal the extent of sub-system formation and solidarity. In a larger sense, they are an index of the institution's achievement with the inmates, reflecting whether the structure implicit in the organizational technology has fostered pro or anti-institutional orientations. If it is the former, we presume that inmates will integrate the institutional experience within their personal operative modes in a manner which facilitates accepting legitimate means for achieving institutionalized goals.² If it is the latter, we presume that the inmate has rejected the institutional experience and has been further alienated from legitimate means for achieving institutionalized goals.³

The Executives and Their Organizational Technologies

The goals specified by the two executives required

²R. K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-194.

³Ibid.

minimal staff expertise. Jackson, the predecessor, opposed the use of professionals in his program and Smith, the successor, after recognizing some of the problems faced by his staff, was interested in acquiring some professionals for his staff; but he was uncertain about how they could be incorporated into his program. Deference and compliance were the bases of staff performance for both executives, but Jackson was more likely to condone overstrictness,⁴ while Smith was obliged to avoid the harshness of his predecessor's administration, and on occasion suspended or discharged employees who had been too severe.

Findings on Organizational Structure.--Survey and file data supplement observational impressions and in part confirm propositions about the background characteristics of staff, their role definitions, the distribution of power, departmental structure and interdepartmental tensions.

Staff Size and Staff Background Characteristics.--Tables 1 and 2 compare the size and background characteristics of staff during the tenures of the two executives.⁵ The increase in the number of positions, reflects the impact of the increased budgets of the successor. The distribution of additional staff among institutional tasks reveals the program emphasis of the successor and the similarity of the staff resources required by the programs under each executive.

⁴Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 94.

⁵Supra, Chapter II, pp. 27-28, for Tables 1 and 2.

The increased age and tenure of employees reflect the greater length of the successor's tenure and the re-employment of former employees.

A number of implications may be derived from the above changes. Expansion of the farm and maintenance staff under Smith provided resources for improving the objective and visible accomplishments of the organization. Additional vocational instructors facilitated extending vocational education and integrating it into the total program. In general, the increase in staff size with the same size inmate population tended to reduce the span of inmate control for institutional staff and increase staff-inmate interaction. Two consequences may be hypothesized from the above changes: 1) they should lead to a reduction in stress on staff; 2) they should lead to improved staff-inmate understanding and approval.⁶

The survey data do not include students and resources from the nearby university used during Smith's administration for testing and for providing information in planning vocational rehabilitation of inmates. Nor do the data include other outside personnel brought in to classify inmates for the Job Corps and other EOA Programs.⁷ Although these outside resources were only appended to the

⁶G. C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950).

⁷The irregularity with which such resources appeared and the diversity of their headquarter made it impossible to plan for their inclusion in the staff surveys.

institutional program, they had some clearly observable effects. The number of the personnel involved precluded staff control over communications between inmates and outsiders; thus tending to mitigate the severity of staff sanctions and the extent of deference required by staff. The activities also helped persuade inmates of the institution's concern with their future.

Nevertheless, Smith had not improved the quality of institutional staff. In part that may have been due to limitations in the local market and restricted funds (which was also true for his predecessor). But with his increased budget and the proximity of three or four colleges, he increased the use of better trained and younger personnel. However, despite such increased resources and their impact, Smith retained the simple internal structure and avoided the extensive internal accommodation to the influence that younger, better educated, more professionally oriented staff would have required, if they and their tasks had been incorporated within the institution.

The Division of Labor.--The departmental structures used by both executives were similar in appearance, but the successor added a department of buildings and grounds, consonant with his emphasis on the physical facilities, and restructured the allocation of authority. Jackson retained close control over all phases of the institution's operation, directly supervising all staff activities.⁸ In contrast, Smith

⁸Street, Vinter, and Perrow, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Also, see Figures 1 and 2, *supra*, pp. 25-26.

directly provided task leadership only for the farm program, the mine operation, building and grounds, the business office and the educational program. He developed policies in consultation with his department heads and worked through the department heads. He recognized competence in their specialties and focussed upon the implications for external relations. He exercised socio-emotional leadership over other activities and delegated considerable authority to the assistant director. The assistant director was responsible for a range of institutional tasks, in particular, those related to the care and management of inmates. He acted as a department head to cottage parents, and also coordinated the inmate intake and assignment process.

Table 2 indicates the range of positions to which staff were assigned. Cottage parents during both administrations supervised the care and sustenance of the inmates. During the predecessor's administration they had considerable freedom to apply negative sanctions to secure conformity with the rules and their orders. Under the successor cottage personnel had more freedom in relating to the boys and in planning activities for them. They were more restricted in the use of negative sanctions, and particularly, in the three cottages for the younger and smaller inmates, constructive programs were initiated by the cottage parents, e.g., crafts, games, scouting, nature study, soap-box derby entries, etc.

The educational programs under both executives were

designed merely to meet state laws governing the education of youth under sixteen years of age and were not central to the institution's objectives. With the appointment of his own candidate for the position of principal (in the fall, 1964), Smith expected him to plan and manage an educational program that would emphasize the vocational training of inmates.

Teachers carried out tasks that were traditional during both administrations. Under the administration of the successor, the new principal moved vigorously to secure additional information on the boys and to integrate academic and vocational programs in a manner that was more consistent with both the opportunities and the potentials of the boys. Education was emphasized for its contribution to post-release economic stability of the inmates, and when negotiations to provide access for a few inmates to the local high school broke down, the executive reacted by terminating a local, adult recreation program's use of the institution's gym facilities.

The large number of administrative staff that participated in intake interviewing (social service director, chaplain, social service clerk, assistant director, and on occasion the executive) reveal both the importance attached to such information and the uncertainty about the information required and how it ought to be obtained.

The social service director did not exercise much influence on internal policy decisions, but the chaplain did.

For almost three years, during the administration of the successor, his interpretation of inmate behavior and recommendations about handling inmates usually were heeded. He was a repository of prior institutional practices and decisions and had served in a similar capacity under Jackson, the predecessor. He was among the staff with whom that executive shared the findings of the earlier study.⁹

The successor also modified the system of differential ranks among inmates and made the grading system used by staff more explicit and objective. The status system among inmates was directly linked to their release and to the distribution of rights and rewards. (See Table 3) The trust and privileges accorded the highest inmate ranks were extended, but some of their prerogatives were sharply restricted from what they had been under the administration of the predecessor. They could not prescribe punishment and staff were required to provide the administration with written reports on all punishment administered. Physical punishment could not be administered without prior approval by administration and was based on a report of the inmate's behavior.

Grades on each boy were submitted monthly and were the basis of the promotion and release system. Each cottage parent was required to grade each boy in nine different areas on a five point scale. Teachers and work detail supervisors were also required to submit grades for the boys

⁹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 267.

TABLE 3
INMATE RANK SYSTEM

Rank	Pre-requisites	Duties	Privileges
Low- est	Regular status--all boys not achieving a higher rank. Escapees required to serve one month additional time in this status. Parole violators and re-committed boys were required to serve three months extra in this rank to acquire eligibility for promotion, and six months for eligibility for extra-curricular activities.	All work and school activities assigned by staff, including accepting direction by higher ranking inmates that were authorized by staff.	Boys under age 17 were eligible for <u>parole</u> in 9 months, if over 17 they were eligible for <u>discharge</u> in 9 months. Extra curricular activities, if enrolled in school or vocational training and were receiving passing grades, e.g. Choir, Drum & Bugle Corps, 4-H Club, athletics. Were allowed to write 2 letters each month and receive 4 letters. Were allowed to have one visit each month.
Sec- ond Rank	Two months completed residence (if never previously committed to the institution). Recommended by all cottage supervisors. All cottage grades of <u>Excellent</u> or <u>Good</u> . At least 6 grades of <u>Good</u> in School or 5 grades of <u>Good</u> in Work and no grade lower than <u>Fair</u> .	They directed other boys under the supervision of institutional staff. Other duties as prescribed by the administrative Committee. They were required to report violations of rules by other boys.	Received a special shirt to indicate rank, were allowed to write 4 letters per month and to have one visit each month. They were eligible for promotion to the highest rank.

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Rank	Pre-requisites	Duties	Privileges
Third Rank	They must have completed four months in residence and must have received the same grades required for promotion to the 2nd rank, but for a four month period. After first attaining eligibility, the grade requirements applied only to the two previous months. Promotion must be approved by the Administrative Committee.	They carried out tasks that involved the trust of staff. They ran errands without supervision, monitored other boys without supervision. They carried out other tasks requiring trust and responsibility.	Received a shirt indicating rank. Had freedom of the grounds on week-ends, when off-duty. In addition to privileges of 2nd rank, they were entitled to two visits each month and one of the visits could be an overnight pass. They were eligible for release in two months after attaining this rank. If they lost their rank because of low grades, they might regain the rank in just one month.
Highest Rank	At least two months service in the 2nd rank or prior service in the 3rd rank. Approval of the Administrative Committee.	The Combined Duties of the 2nd and 3rd ranks. Also, all responsibility and trust expected of both the 2nd and 3rd ranks.	They received a shirt to indicate their rank. In addition to all the privileges of the 2nd and 3rd ranks, they were eligible for release <u>one month</u> after attaining this rank, e.g., inmates who attained the 2nd rank in two months and the 3rd rank in 4 months, might be released after a stay of approximately five months.

under their direction.

An administrative committee, consisting of the executive, assistant director, social service director, principal and chaplain, reviewed all the grades and made decisions about advancement in the rank system and releases. Although personal impressions of members of the committee affected decisions, extremely low grades that might reflect biases among staff were questioned and the committee as a whole served to limit the influence of individual staff members attempting to dominate decisions by assigning low grades to the boys. This was in sharp contrast to the practices during the previous administration, when staff members participated in the meetings and were consulted about decisions to release or promote the boys. Under the revised system both grades and consensus among all cottage staff were required. The effect of the revised grading system and the altered review structure was to reduce staff inclination toward low grades. It stimulated more thoughtful grading and reduced impulsiveness in the grading scheme. Most staff maintained careful records of the boys' behavior and the events that were used to assign demerits. This not only reflected the care they gave grading; but, also, their interest in substantiating the grades that they assigned.

Reviewing the division of labor and departmental structure of the two administrations, we note a number of problems that emerged from the structure which the successor created. First, the authority of the assistant director

was unclear. He reported to the executive in the same manner as some department heads. Second, earlier traditions which permitted all staff and inmates direct access to the executive were difficult to overcome and subverted the authority of the assistant. Third, directives from the executive to the department heads, which he administered, on occasion, conflicted with the orders to cottage parents that had been issued by the assistant, creating dual lines of authority. Fourth, the loyalty created by executive control over appointments also tended to undercut the authority of the assistant director. Nevertheless, the assistant exercised considerable authority.

The problems of coordination that developed enabled the executive to mediate disputes and to maintain a socio-emotional leadership role for staff and inmates. At the same time, the assistant director was made responsible for order and upholding rules and regulations. Smith escaped the onus of enforcing rules and regulations that managing the lives of a large number of inmates and maintaining institutional order requires. He separated the "firmness" and "understanding," which were equally important to his program, and made his assistant assume those role aspects which emphasized rules and firmness. Accordingly, line staff, such as cottage parents and detail supervisors, assumed the burden of reconciling order, deference and authority with greater inmate differentiation. They were required to apply appropriately the wider range of sanctions and seek voluntaristic compliance instead of coercive compliance. At the same time,

they were subject to closer supervision and more formally prescribed procedures in applying sanctions.

We note increased effort to obtain information about the inmates and greater demands on the cottage and educational programs under the successor's administration. Greater voluntarism was sought, but professional knowledge and skills were not obtained to implement internal decisions. Cottage personnel and teachers seemed to move closer together in their perspectives and aims, with the vocational preparation of inmates providing the guiding theme.¹⁰ Pressures emerged for greater coordination and better communications. Conflict developed between the productive tasks required to sustain the institution and programs oriented to somewhat more extensive change. Prescriptions for cottage personnel were more complex and the increased information obtained through intake interviewing did not seem to serve their needs adequately.

The structure of the formal organization had undergone more differentiation during the administration of the successor. While personnel was still interchangeable for many departments, the emergence of an additional level in some portions of the hierarchal structure suggests the greater complexity of the structure. The division of internal responsibilities, on one hand, increased problems stemming from the dual lines of authority. On the other hand, it enabled the executive to modify his role in

¹⁰This impression largely is based on observations.

respect to cottage personnel. The thrust of the organization became diffused and subject to influences that limited the potency of traditional practices. The modified organizational structure tended to reduce Smith's span of control, but the traditions of the institution were difficult to overcome. The executive still maintained an open door policy for staff and inmates. The departmentalization remained predominantly oriented to the political mission of the executive and reflected his emphasis on farm production and an improved physical plant. As indicated in Street, organizational goals are presumed to be implemented when "containment and control, or hard work and study are achieved."¹¹ Obedience-conformity goals required minimal departmentalization and little coordination. But the emphasis on the educational-vocational program imposed new demands for communication and coordination. Staff meetings, the increased authority of the assistant director, and increased importance of the school principal in policy decisions were intended to handle the new demands.

The Balance of Power

For additional confirmation of the structural modifications in the organization, we examine staff questionnaire responses. Staff were asked their opinions about the importance of members of the executive core in the management of the institution. The manner in which the executive

¹¹Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit., pp. 177-181.

established relationships with representatives of various activities within the organization indicated both sources of influence on his decisions and the value that he placed on the activities.

TABLE 4
STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF POWER IN THE EXECUTIVE CORE^a

Sources of Influence	Predecessor's Administration		Successor's Administration	
	A Great Deal of Say (%)	A Lot of Say (%)	A Great Deal of Say (%)	A Lot of Say (%)
Parent Organization	b		57	28
Executive	86	12	89	11
Assistant Director ^d	38	54	55	37
Chaplain	c		35	35
Head of Social Service	13	24	12	10
Principal	17	32	10	42
Farm Manager	11	26	19	24
Number of cases	(53-57)		(58-65)	

^aQuestion--"In general, how much influence or say on the way Boysville is run would you say each of the following individuals or groups has?"

^bNot included in the earlier study.

^cNot included as a member of the executive core in the earlier study. The prominence of the Chaplain in this institution appears unique, and derives in part from the Chaplaincy and the importance of religious interests in the region. His long tenure and educational attainments also served to legitimate his role within the simple, minimally differentiated organizational design.

^dDifference is significant at 5% level. Chi Sq. = 4.12, d.f. = 1. Chi Square was calculated on the basis of frequencies in each category of response under each executive.

The data in Table 4 indicate clearly the increased importance of the assistant director. But, apparently the manner in which the school principal operated, i.e., through the executive, obscured his increased importance. The concentration of power in the hands of the executive is obvious. The inquiry about the influence of the chaplain reveals his continuing power; but observations and interview data indicate that he probably exercised even more influence earlier in the tenure of the successor. After approximately three years in a highly influential role under Smith, Smith questioned his contribution. On one occasion Smith commented to the researcher, "Everytime someone makes a suggestion to change something, he (the chaplain) says, 'We tried that. It won't work.'" Subsequent to that time the chaplain's influence appeared to decline.

Other inquiries confirm that the chaplain exercised more influence on internal decisions than the social service director. In response to the question of the importance of various task groups in making decisions concerning the handling of inmates, the increased contribution of the school personnel is evident (see Table 5). Also, by separating the chaplain from social services in the inquiry, the extent of the chaplain's contribution to social service importance becomes quite clear.¹² The order of the importance of

¹²The chaplain performed the role of a "Chief Social Worker." Counselling experience and education provided the language and legitimacy to support his explanations and interpretations of inmate behavior, therefore his recommendations in respect to inmates.

TABLE 5

STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF INFLUENCE ABOUT HANDLING INMATES
(Per Cent of Respondents)

Sources of Influence	Predecessor's Administration	Successor's Administration
	A Good Deal of Influence ^a	Considerable or Great Deal of Influence
Social Service	45	34
Principal and Teachers	28	57 ^c
Cottage Personnel	63	76
Farm and Work Supervisors	36	37
Chaplain	b	84
Assistant Director	b	92
Number of Responses	(49-53)	(55-63)

^aResponses for the predecessor's administration were at the end of a four point scale. The phrasing employed was "A good deal of influence." The survey during the successor's administration, used "considerable influence" for the third point on the scale and "a great deal of influence" for the end of the scale. The responses under both categories have been combined and are reported here. The scaling appears comparable for the two surveys. In both cases all opinions above the mid-point of the scale are reported. Also, the ordering and changes in importance of various roles are consistent with data appearing in Tables 4 and 6.

^bNot included in this inquiry of the survey during the predecessor's administration.

^cDifference is significant at the 0.1% Level of Confidence.

the task groups indicates that operational requirements in the hands of cottage personnel were still important.

A question included in the staff survey required comparisons to be made between all combinations of six pairs of roles. The results in Table 6 further confirm the order of tasks within the institution. The criterion for the comparison was ". . . the importance of the tasks in the operation of the institution . . ." Here, despite the chaplain's importance in the handling of inmates and the assistant director's authority, the contribution of the cottage personnel and school personnel is supported.

It was noted in the earlier study that, except in response to the potential effect of election outcomes on job security, there was little tension among staff. This was attributed to the lack of interdependence of departments.¹³ In order to further test that notion and to ascertain whether tension would decrease under conditions that implied greater internal differentiation of institutional efforts, disparate lines of authority, and some shifting in the internal power balance, staff were asked about the amount and sources of tensions between pairs of staff groups. Because observations indicated that the Social service department did not provide the rationale and guidance for the institution's program, it was omitted from the tension inquiry. Instead, attention was directed toward

¹³Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 126.

TABLE 6

PERCEPTIONS OF IMPORTANCE OF ROLES IN THE OPERATION
OF THE INSTITUTION IN SUCCESSOR'S ADMINISTRATION

Roles Rated More Important	Cottage Staff (%)	Chaplain (%)	School Staff (%)	Social Service (%)	Farm and Work Staff (%)
Asst. Supt.	52	52	62	87	92
Cottage Staff		56	67	88	87
Chaplain			43	86	81
School Staff				77	82
Social Service					54

^aReading from left to right in each row indicates the per cent that reported that the task group in the left margin was more important. (Based on 15 paired comparisons.)

tension between the three major program areas: the farm and work program, the educational program, and the cottage program. The relief personnel were also included, since they represented staff that were least likely to be integrated into the total program and were most subject to conditions that would contribute to conflict with other staff.

It is readily apparent in Table 7 that the over-all level of tension at the time of the third survey (1965) was much less than at the time of the second survey (1960). It was also below the level of tension that existed at the time of the first survey (1959). Accordingly, if we accept the proposition that the increase in tension between the first

TABLE 7

PERCEIVED TENSIONS BETWEEN STAFF GROUPS AVERAGED OVER ALL STAFF GROUPS AT THREE POINTS IN TIME

Amount of Tension	Survey I (1959) (%)	Survey II (1960) (%)	Survey III (1965) (%)
A Great Deal or Considerable Tension	18	30	10
Some Tension	35	35	13
Very Little or No Tension	47 ^b	35 ^a	77 ^{ab}
N	(51)	(40)	(61)

^aS.E. diff % = .10 (approx.) probability is less than .001

^bS.E. diff % = .094, probability is less than .001.

two surveys was largely due to the impending election, it becomes quite clear that the tension between elements of the institution's program during Smith's regime reflect not only the change in the environmental conditions that existed at the time of the second survey, e.g., the election, but the effects of other factors as well, such as the organizational technology or the institution's program.

In order to estimate the extent to which the election influenced the level of tension within the institution, the 1965 staff survey included a retrospective inquiry about the, ". . . tension or concern felt because of the election." The inquiry was directed to staff who had been employed at the institution prior to the 1964 election. The

same staff were also asked about their feelings at the time of the survey, i.e., a few months after the election. At that time, although the same party had continued in power, the executive's re-appointment had not been confirmed and a change was a distinct possibility. The data are not directly comparable to that relating to tension between staff groups, but it was evident that staff members felt more concern before the election than after the election and that the concern was predominantly related to job security, the implications of staff changes for the welfare of the inmates, and possible changes in the institution's program and policies. Sixty per cent of the respondents (N=58) indicated that they had felt either a "great deal" or "quite a bit" of concern because of the election; but only forty-four per cent of the respondents (N=52) selected those alternatives to describe their feelings at the time of the survey. The difference was significant at the 5% level of confidence. Thus, it seems reasonable to accept Street's explanation that the increase in tension at the time of the 1960 survey was due to the impending election. However, it is the marked reduction in the over-all level of tension between staff groups (below the levels present in 1959) which suggests that the changes in the organizational structure under Smith could not by themselves account for the very low level of tension during his administration.

Table 8 reveals significant variations in the level of tension between various pairs of staff groups during the

TABLE 8

PERCEIVED TENSION BETWEEN PAIRS OF STAFF GROUPS DURING
THE SUCCESSOR'S ADMINISTRATION

Staff Groups	Amount of Tension Perceived (% of staff in each category)			(N)
	A Great Deal or Consid- erable	Some	Little or None	
Farm or Work Supervisors vs. Cottage Staff	17	14	69 ^a	(63)
Farm or Work Supervisors vs. School Personnel	13	15	72 ^b	(62)
Relief Personnel vs. all Others	13	23	64 ^c	(61)
School Personnel vs. Administration	10	3	87 ^b	(61)
Cottage Staff vs. Administration	5	12	83 ^a	(60)
Cottage Staff vs. School Personnel	3	15	82	(62)
Employees vs. Administration	2	11	87	(61)

^aDifference is significant at the five per cent level of confidence. (using a one-tailed test for a difference in the predicted direction, S.E.diff. % = .076).

^bDifference is significant at the five per cent level of confidence. (using a one-tailed test for difference in the predicted direction, S.E.diff. % = .071).

^cDifferences between the level of tension denoted by "c" and all subsequent percentages in the column are significant at the 1% level of confidence. (using a one-tailed test for differences in the predicted direction S.E.diff. % = .078).

administration of the successor. During Smith's administration the tension between Relief Personnel and other staff is less than the tension between any pair of staff groups

during his predecessor's administration (probabilities of the differences have a maximum of .05); but, it is significantly greater than tensions between all other pairs in the successor's administration with the exception of "Farm or Work Supervisors" and "Cottage Personnel" or "School Personnel." The higher level of tension between relief personnel and other personnel is consistent with other research that indicate the alienation of peripheral personnel.¹⁴ It also supports the contention that both interdependence and consensus contribute to the level of tension. Although relief staff operations might appear to have minimal impact upon the execution of assignments by other staff, variations in the management of inmates posed problems for other staff. Observations indicated that the relief personnel were subject to least administrative surveillance and least pressure from other staff. Therefore, they tended to differ from other staff in their approach to the inmates; relief staff were more inclined to use physical punishment and other negative sanctions, especially in the cottages with the older boys.

On the other hand, despite the generally low level of tension during Smith's administration, the relatively higher level of tension between "Farm or Work Supervisors" and both "Cottage Personnel" and "School Personnel" (in view of the low level of tension between "Cottage Personnel" and

¹⁴Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 117-136.

"School Personnel") confirms the contribution of interdependence to the level of tension within an institution. Cottage and school activities were clearly separate irrespective of any confusion created by the dual lines of authority; but productive activities of the institution, e.g., farming and improving the physical plant, led to demands for inmate labor which conflicted with both the cottage and educational programs.

What we have found dramatically supports the importance of interdependence enunciated by Street.¹⁵ The extremely low level of tension suggests a program that was more segmented and diffuse than existed during Jackson's administration. It is likely that the level of tension during Jackson's regime, which increased prior to the 1960 election, was influenced at the time of the first survey (1959) by the minority status of Jackson's party and organization-local community relations. In other words, the level of tension during the predecessor's administration was greater than implicit in the organizational structure, per se.

In review, lack of consensus as well as interdependence contribute to the level of tension at an institution, and tension as an organizational phenomena is very much influenced by environmental events and conditions. Neither executive attempted in any way to separate the

¹⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 126.

operation of the institution from the political climate and the patronage system; but it was the predecessor, as a minority party representative, whose position was the more precarious and whose administration was characterized by more pervasive tension among staff.

Efforts to modify the program under the successor produced significant variations in the level of tension between some staff groups, but an over-all reduction in the level of tension. A shift in the power balance among staff is detectable; cottage staff was subject to more formal control; more staff were added to the farm and work programs to increase effectiveness in areas that were objective and readily visible; the mission of the educational program received emphasis and outside resources were employed to increase the number and range of opportunities for releasing inmates. The stay for inmates was shortened (approximately 8-9 months in contrast to the earlier 10-11 months) and the criteria for release were made more explicit. The stratification system among inmates was more congruent with release criteria and a more positive definition of authority and deference. Despite staff meetings, the modified role of the assistant director, the reduced span of control of the executive, and lower over-all tension, Smith's administration had problems in communication and coordination which appeared to weaken the traditional thrust of the institution.

Staff Perspectives and Relations

Several items on the questionnaire used in the surveys provided information on the staff's ideas about the institution's purpose. The responses to several items were highly consistent with one another. The data reported here (see Table 9) were derived from the respondent's first response to the request to indicate, "which two of a series of six statements in their opinion best represented what the executive thinks the institution's purposes are."

TABLE 9

STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES

Perceptions of Goals	Predecessor's Administration		Successor's Administration	
	(%)	(f)	(%)	(f)
CUSTODIAL CONCEPTIONS	2	1	7	5
Protect home com- munity	-	-	-	-
Punish delinquent	2	1	7	5
TRADITIONAL CONCEPTIONS	85	48	70	48
Teach boys good so- cial habits and behavior	54		32	
Train and educate boys	31		38	
TREATMENT CONCEPTIONS	11	6	21	14
Change a boy's so- cial attitudes and values	7		15	
Help each boy get an understanding of the kind of things that got him into trouble	4		6	
Totals	100	55	100	67

The findings indicate that under Smith's administration greater proportions of staff selected custodial conceptions and treatment conceptions than was the case during Jackson's administration. The increase in neither of the above categories was significant, but when frequencies in the two contradictory categories are combined the null hypothesis for a difference between the two administrations may be rejected at the 5% level of confidence (see Table 10). Therefore, although there has been no significant shift toward either end of the custody-treatment continuum, we conclude that there is less consensus about organizational purpose and that the internal strategy of the successor in part contributed to it.

TABLE 10
STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES,
COMPARING TRADITIONAL AND EXTREME PURPOSES

Perceptions of Goals	Predecessor's Administration (f)	Successor's Administration (f)	Sum
CUSTODIAL OR TREATMENT ^a	7	19	26
TRADITIONAL	<u>48</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>96</u>
Totals	55	67	122

^aThe extremes have been combined to provide a measure of heterogeneity in lieu of suitable numerical measures for computing dispersion. Chi Square = 4.92, d.f. = 1; probability is less than .05.

We also examined the effect of education on staff perspectives (Table 11) and found, in both administrations, that greater education was associated with more complex conceptions of organizational purpose. Further, the

TABLE 11

STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES,
BY EDUCATION

Perceptions of Goals	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Staff with No Col- lege Education		
Custodial Con- ceptions	3	10
Traditional Con- ceptions	87 ^a	70 ^a
Treatment Conceptions	10	20
Number of Re- spondents	(39)	(50)
Staff with Some Col- lege Education		
Custodial Concep- tions	-	-
Traditional Con- ceptions	87	76
Treatment Concep- tions	13	24
Number of Re- spondents	(15)	(17)

^aA Chi Square test comparing the frequencies of choices of "Traditional Conceptions" in each administration among staff with no college education is significant at the 5% level of confidence (Chi Square = 4.39 with one degree of freedom).

differences between the two regimes is more marked among staff with less education, e.g., Smith's administration was characterized by greater diversity in perspectives. Although the difference between the perspectives of staff with no college education and the perspectives of staff with some college education is not significant, the direction of that

difference is consistent with the findings of Vinter and Janowitz.¹⁶ They found that education of staff was positively associated with treatment conceptions and that age was negatively associated with treatment conceptions. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that better educated staff may be more sensitive to organizational practices that connote treatment conceptions. Accordingly, the data in Tables 6 and 7 are congruent with evidence on staff size and background, e.g., rehiring older staff, and suggest that the balance in perceptions of institutional purposes was provided by some of the new employees and the slight increase in the number of employees with some college education.

Street notes that considerable disagreement existed among members of the executive core of institutions for juvenile corrections, but that there was little disagreement at this institution under Jackson's administration. During Smith's tenure there was disagreement, with positions ranging from the most traditional to treatment conceptions, despite a limited shift in the balance among organizational objectives and the modest changes in the organizational structure.

Table 12 presents the results of a comparison of staff attitudes toward delinquents under each executive

¹⁶Vinter, et al., op. cit., pp. 301-306.

TABLE 12

STAFF ATTITUDES TOWARD DELINQUENTS

Staff Attitudes	Scale Type	Predecessor's Administration	Successor's Administration
Understanding Delinquents		(%)	(%)
Is difficult	1	21	17
	2	70	67
	3	5	12
Is the key	4	4	4
N =		(47)	(58)
Discipline			
Discipline emphasized	1	22	27
	2	38	43
	3	30	23
Permissiveness emphasized	4	10	7
N =		(50)	(56)

Attitudes toward "Understanding" and toward "Discipline" were scaled by Guttman techniques into four scale types for each dimension.¹⁷ The data indicate a slight shift toward understanding and toward discipline in Smith's administration. Neither change is statistically significant, but the contradictory directions of the shifts suggests continuity with staff diversity on goal perspectives, and the more complex expectations that Smith imposed on staff.

As found in the earlier study, there was high

¹⁷Bernard S. Phillips, *Social Research: Strategy and Tactics* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1966), pp. 187-195. See Appendix for Scaling Procedures.

involvement in the job, despite staff perspectives on understanding and discipline.¹⁸ Staff commitment was greater under the predecessor, but it is not possible to assess the impact of improved economic conditions and better employment opportunities under the successor. Seventy per cent of the staff under the successor felt that the institution was "Better" or "Much Better" than other places to work and no staff member felt that the institution was a worse place to work.

Equally important in appreciating the implications of the differences in administrations are the staff-inmate relations that largely depend on staff perspectives and attitudes. Data in five areas (surveillance, perceptions of executive expectations in handling and relating to inmates, attitudes on sanctions, and staff views on appropriate inmate behavior and inmate groups) provide the basis for examining staff-inmate relations and a context for understanding inmate attitudes and behavior. The central question for us is whether the slight changes in executives' notions about staff-inmate relations and about managing inmates are perceptible by staff; and how the staff that was recruited were able to implement the modified expectations imposed upon them. It was evident from Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12 that the changes sought by Smith (for obtaining voluntaristic compliance), were not clear to staff. Accordingly, there

¹⁸Street, Vinter, and Perrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

is little basis for anticipating changes in the social control mechanisms employed by staff. To the extent that staff are aware of purposes that include requirements for more extensive inmate change, yet lack the resources (knowledge and skill) for implementing those requirements, staff are likely to employ the only means available to them--the traditional techniques for managing inmates. Observational data suggest that some staff under the successor were aware of the modified means that the executive wished to implement. Also, that those staff, to the extent their capacities permitted, tried to carry out the somewhat more complex technology. However, they were frustrated; not all staff subscribed to the changes, and those that attempted to extend the range of sanctions and modify their relations with inmates frequently found themselves at odds with other staff or having to undo inmate perspectives based on relations with other staff members.

The method of inmate change was still that of conditioning; but it required the use of a greater range of reinforcements and greater discrimination in their use. Staff under the predecessor assumed that involuntary inmates were committed to opposition and could only be coerced into compliance (with compliance and deference as criteria of effective management and a successful program); under the successor, observations showed that staff felt that the proper use of rewards, privileges, loss of privileges and modest punishments could secure the cooperation of inmates.

It was still a learning situation for inmates; but, instead of learning to respond solely by avoiding negative sanctions as practiced under the predecessor, learning was fostered by staff encouragement, the use of rewards and by staff's improved understanding of inmates. Therefore, under the successor we expected to find less severe sanctions, less universalism, and less need to co-opt inmate leaders to manage and control collective interaction among inmates. Observations confirmed those expectations, but the survey data reveal the limited extent to which inmate management had changed and the problems faced by staff in employing a somewhat more complex technology. It was difficult for untrained staff to reconcile the need for institutional order, deference and obedience with the need for differential treatment of inmates. The former promoted increased social distance and the latter required understanding, which connotes reduced social distance. In the absence of job security, the more precarious the institution's position, the greater the stress on staff, particularly for those who risked misinterpretation of inmate behavior by seeking to temper control with understanding.

TABLE 13

COTTAGE STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF EXPECTATIONS FOR SURVEILLANCE

Staff Beliefs	Predecessor's Administration	Successor's Administration
The executive expects them to "keep all of the boys in sight" (cottage parents and dorm supervisors only)	60%	53%
N =	(10)	(15)

The data in Table 13 indicate that a smaller proportion of cottage staff believed the successor desired surveillance, but the difference between the two administrations was not statistically significant. Staff were still responsible for run-aways that occurred during their tour of duty. Regimentation, particularly in the dormitories for the larger and older boys changed little from one administration to the other. But in the three cottages for younger boys (ages 10-13 and 14-16) the routines seemed to have become more easy going and relaxed. There was considerable horseplay and noise in the evening after dinner. One of the cottage parents indicated that his biggest problem was to obtain a sufficient quantity and variety of play materials for the boys. On occasion the executive stopped by to play ping-pong with the boys. Although paddling was a legitimate punishment under certain circumstances and staff mentioned the procedure for authorizing paddling,¹⁹ not one instance of paddling was seen during the two and one half years that the institution was under observation.²⁰ "Benching" (requiring a boy to sit erect and in silence on a bench during the recreation period) and other punishments, such as the loss of privileges were witnessed quite frequently. The routines

¹⁹Supra, p. 143.

²⁰It is not suggested that paddling had been discontinued. It would have been impossible for staff to conceal the practice, because of the frequency and interval of observations. It was apparent that paddling was still a legitimate sanction; however, the formalization of controls over physical punishment tended to deter its use and it became less frequent.

of daily life were still highly structured and there was little leeway for staff deviation or flexibility.

Table 14 shows that a smaller proportion of cottage staff under Smith believed in awarding privileges to boys in exchange for help in controlling other boys. The largest share of the shift was toward universalistic treatment. However, a similar inquiry put to all staff in the earlier study indicated that eighty-five per cent of the staff (N=62) agreed that all boys should get the same punishment for breaking the rules.²¹ Directly comparable data are

TABLE 14
COTTAGE STAFF PERSPECTIVES ON CO-OPTATION OF INMATES FOR CONTROL OF INMATES AND ON UNIVERSALISTIC TREATMENT OF INMATES

Staff Belief	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Give privileges to boys who help control	17	6
Treat all boys alike to be fair	58	67
Treat each boy according to his needs	25	27
N =	(12)	(15)

lacking in this study, but nine staff, in addition to cottage staff, answered the question for which data appears in Table 14. Their responses to the three categories are,

²¹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., p. 159.

respectively, 10%, 60%, 30%, and provide a weak indication that other staff may be more particularistic in orientation than cottage staff. None of the above differences is statistically significant, therefore the evidence is not conclusive. Rather it remains at this point doubtful that the shift in perspectives is not chance phenomenon, derivable from sampling errors and instrument unreliability. It is our intent to examine the consistency of the changes in order to ascertain whether they represent a single dimension.

The identical, "show 'em whose boss," procedure described in Street was repeated in interviews with staff during the study of the successor's administration.²² The "old-timers" who indoctrinated new cottage personnel passed the idea on to new staff. But the changed procedures to control physical punishment left new staff pretty much up in the air about how to handle and deal with the inmates, and new staff stated that they were anxious and concerned about how well they would do during the first few weeks on the job.

Survey data on staff perceptions about executive expectations in handling and relating to inmates appear in Table 15. The differences are not significant. What shifts there are suggest that more staff under the successor perceived that they were expected to maintain control and have closer relations. Although these are contradictory

²²Ibid., p. 162.

TABLE 15

STAFF PERCEPTION OF EXECUTIVE'S EXPECTATIONS IN
HANDLING AND RELATING TO INMATES

	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
CONTROL. Executive expects them to:		
Maintain order at all times; otherwise boys will get out of control.	60	68
Let the boys have freedom to express themselves; but we have to keep a close watch over it.	37	32
Let the boys set their own limits, except if it gets dangerous; otherwise the boys won't learn to control themselves.	3	
He's not concerned about whether staff let boys have freedom to express themselves or not.	-	
N =	(60)	(67)
SOCIAL DISTANCE. Executive expects them to:		
Keep distance from boys; otherwise we will both lose out objectivity and not be able to maintain our authority.	8	7
Be close to the boys, but not so close that our authority will be questioned.	72	69
Have close relationships with the boys, so we can get to understand the boys.	20	24
He doesn't care what kind of relationships we have.	-	-
N =	(61)	(67)

perspectives, they are consistent with data presented earlier and with observations.

Data on sanctions, in Table 16, intimate a shift among staff toward less punitive sanctions, which is not statistically significant.²³ If an error in the wording of two items in the scale during the survey of the predecessor's administration (which tended to depress the number of punitive responses to that item and reduced the severity of sanctions at that time) is considered, the difference appearing between the two administrations is probably a conservative estimate of the difference in the actual states that prevailed.²⁴ During the predecessor's administration, the use of a solitary confinement cell was discontinued.²⁵ In the successor's administration some of the more degrading punishments were modified and it was more difficult for staff to punish through influencing release.

That staff held different views of the inmates during each administration is implied by the data in Tables 17 and 18. Although the differences are not statistically significant, more staff under the successor saw inmate understanding of himself as an appropriate adjustment, and fewer staff were likely to see avoidance of trouble and non-violation of rules as the means for an inmate to get along.

²³See Appendix for Scaling Procedures.

²⁴Vinter *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

²⁵Street, Vinter, and Perrow, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

Also, very few staff felt that inmate groups were bad. In contrast, about a quarter of the staff under the predecessor viewed inmate groups as bad, and more staff saw keeping out of trouble and not violating rules as the best way for inmates to get along at the institution.

TABLE 16
STAFF SCORES ON SANCTIONS INDEX

Score	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
High use of sanctions, including slapping or paddling	19	16
High use of sanctions, without slapping or paddling	34	25
Medium use of sanctions	19	26
Low use of sanctions	14	22
Reasoning only	14	11
N =	(58)	(69)

TABLE 17
STAFF VIEWS ON THE BEST WAY FOR AN INMATE TO GET ALONG

Inmate's Behavior	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Don't break the rules and keep out of trouble	60	55
Show that he is really sorry	7	9
Get an understanding of himself	33	36
N =	(55)	(69)

TABLE 18

STAFF PERSPECTIVES ABOUT INMATE GROUPS

Perspectives	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Say all or most groups of inmates are bad	24 ^a	10 ^a
N =	(60)	(65)

^aS.E. (diff. %) = .0657; probability is less than .05.

Summary: Staff Perspectives and Relations.--Although the successor attempted to implement a program implying somewhat more extensive change in the inmate than his predecessor, the means secured, such as type of staff and programs to help staff, did not appear to achieve the executive's intention. Data suggest that some staff "got the message," but at the operational level they were unable to implement it. This is consistent with the gap between "ideal" and "real" pointed out by Street, which was most pronounced in the obedience-conformity institution such as that studied here.²⁶ Nevertheless, the consistency between staff attitudes and perspectives and the traditional perspectives of the institution under the predecessor shows some signs of breaking down. The only statistically significant differences confirmed greater diversity of staff perspectives and a more positive attitude toward inmate groups. The data appearing in Table 19, which recapitulates the differences appearing in Tables 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18,

²⁶Ibid., pp. 177-178.

was subjected to the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test and support, at the five per cent level of confidence, that the institution under the successor differed from its state under the predecessor.²⁷

TABLE 19
PROPORTIONS OF STAFF REFLECTING POSITIVE PERSPECTIVES

Prede- cessor's Adminis- tration (%)	Succes- sor's Adminis- tration (%)	Differ- ence	Rank of Absolute Difference	Ranks with less fre- quent signs
16	21	+5	8.5	
9	16	+7	6.5	
40	30	-10	4	4
40	47	+7	6.5	
83	94	+11	3	
40	32	-8	5	5
20	24	+4	10	
47	59	+12	2	
40	45	+5	8.5	
77	90	+13	1	
				T 9

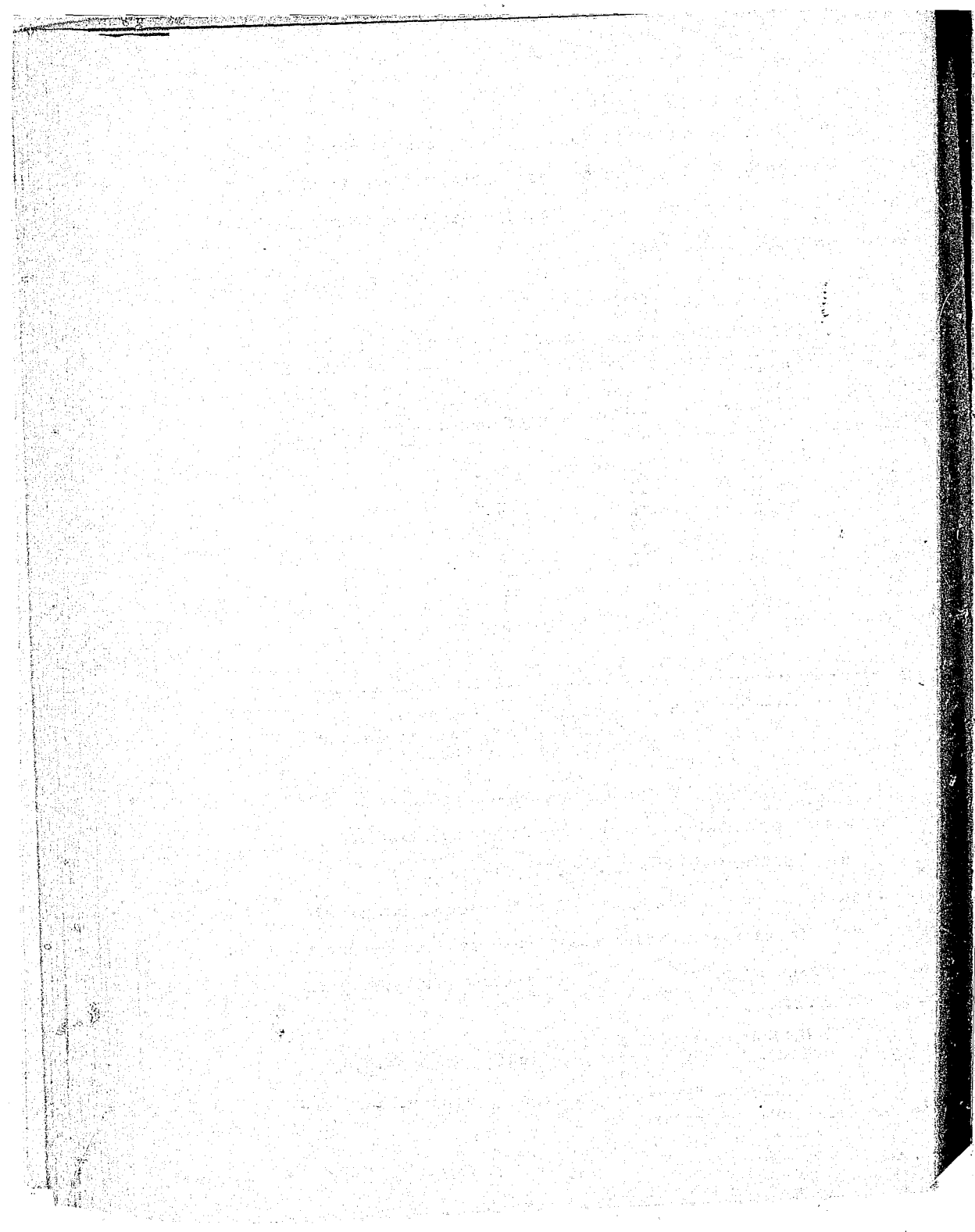
$$\bar{T} = \frac{10(11)}{4} = 27.5$$

probability of T in the pre-
dicted direction (one-tailed
test) is less than .05

The data do not suggest thorough-going movement toward treatment orientation; they suggest an institution which is more differentiated internally and modestly re-structured to allow the emergence of a "re-education development" type institution, which would require less resources and less outside support.²⁸ Staff were less punitive, more

²⁷N. M. Downie and R. W. Heath, *Basic Statistical Methods* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), pp. 207-210.

²⁸M. Janowitz, "Forward" in Street, Vint..., and Perrow, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-xi.



CONTINUED

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differentiating, but also more conflicted about how to carry out their tasks. Their autonomy and authority were reduced and they were less able to bargain with inmates to maintain control. The separation of relief and night personnel from other staff made the former less subject to the emerging influences. In contrast to events reported in Street, such as cottage parent criticism of a supervisor who refused to fight an inmate when challenged,²⁹ the successor discharged an employee who fought with an inmate. He used a conflict (about the punishment of a student) between the principal and a teacher as the basis for removing the principal. Signs of change are ambiguous, weak and sometimes mixed; the implications of the modified organizational technology and prevailing staff perspectives may best be characterized as a dilution or weakening of the traditional thrust of the institution, and potentially, a relatively greater impact by other factors which have not been means for attaining organizational goals in obedience/conformity type institutions. What occurred is akin to the statistical regression effect mentioned by Campbell.³⁰ Within a limited range, according to a criterion variable, the criterion loses its predictive power in comparison to other relevant factors.

The introduction of outside resources, the modification and explication of inmate stratification consistent

²⁹Ibid., 179-180.

³⁰D. T. Campbell and J. C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966), p. 15.

with release criteria, and the acquisition of additional personnel are all examples of such factors. If how staff carry out their tasks is meaningful and the intent comes through, then inmates should respond in a more positive fashion. If some staff attempt to persuade the boys and use rewards and loss of rewards effectively, inmates are more likely to identify with the institution and form informal groups supporting pro-institutional norms.

The Inmate Sub-System Response

What happens to the inmate is the central issue as indicated above. The change in executives may reveal variations in the patterns of accommodation to the environment, but there are several ways in which such accommodation may be manifested. Re-interpretation of the mandate may promote greater insularity; elaboration of the organizational technology may result in shifting the internal balance, with resultant implications for morale and for inmate responses (as mentioned above); control over the flow of inmates in respect to volume and quality may yield an organization considerably different in appearance and effects (also a possibility here). Thus far we have seen modest changes in the balance among organizational goals and an attempt to modify the organizational technology in pursuit of the modified goals. Ambiguity, resistant traditions and limited staff resources all raise questions about the ultimate impact on the inmate.

If the successor has been successful in his external strategy and has secured the support and resources for the modified program without mobilizing opposition, thereby enabling him to implement an internal strategy that contributes to the goals that he has specified, the results should be detectable by examining the outcomes, or product. Several notions exist about appropriate criteria for assessing what a correctional institution for juveniles ought to accomplish. Such criteria as recidivism or other post-institutional measures pose problems of cost and control over complex influences that are insurmountable in this study. Instead, we turn to the phenomena that are accessible from within the institution, and look for evidence that the institution serves more than retentive ends on the assumption that what occurs within the institution has implications for behavior outside the institution.³¹ Accordingly, confirmation of the fact that the inmate has accepted the institutional experience as legitimate, or seems more inclined to do so, is a test of the proposition that changes in the internal strategy of the executive implies organizational influences to which the inmate sub-system has responded.

Changes in the population composition might be a source of variation, so we examine that first. Then we look at inmate perspectives and relations to inform us about their responses to shifts in staff structure, authority and

³¹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 195-96.

perspectives. Finally, we consider the extent to which inmate perspectives reflect characteristics of the inmate population and the extent to which they reflect a response to a modified organization climate.

The Inmate Population.--There were a few marked differences in the institution's population under each of the executives (Table 20). The successor had less serious offenders, more offenders who had committed three or more offenses, many more boys from broken homes, fewer offenders who were at the extremes of the age range within the institution and more from households in which the head was unemployed. (Differences in the first three attributes mentioned were at least significant at the 5% level of confidence.) The previous study found that background characteristics of inmates had little systematic influence on inmate perspectives across a range of institutions.³² In that study the relative potency of organizational differences outweighed the influence of inmate attributes. Nevertheless, the complex interdependence of inmate attribute, organizational context and institutional environment seems quite explicit.

To the extent that background variables have any relationship with perspectives beyond random associations, they seem to do so mostly in interaction with the institutional environment. Background attributes apparently take on their primary significance through the emphases and interpretations staff personnel give to them, and the staff behavior toward inmates that follows from these perceptions. . . .³³

³²Ibid., pp. 217-220.

³³Ibid., p. 220.

TABLE 20

INMATE BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS,
FROM INSTITUTIONAL FILES

Background Characteristic	Prede- cessor's Adminis- tration (%)	Succes- sor's Adminis- tration (%)
Have committed more serious offenses	67 ^a	52 ^a
Have committed three or more offenses	23	34 ^b
Have been in this institution before	25	22 ^c
Are under 14 years old	13	10
Are 14-16 years old	64	71 ^c
Are over 16 years old	24	19
Are not white	12	11 ^c
Have IQ's below normal (91 or less) ^d	68 ^c	68
Come from homes that are broken or show serious problems	54	81 ^e
Are from counties with cities of:		
10,000 - 90,000	49	39 ^f
under 10,000	51	61
Are from homes where the head of the household is:		
White collar	10	8
Blue collar	48	42
Not in the labor force	42 ^c	50 ^c
	N =	(197-209) (254-256)

^aIncludes arson, forgery, sex offenses, breaking and entering, and crimes of violence. Dependency, neglect, truancy, "incurability," maladjustment, theft and vandalism are excluded. Differences are significant at 5% level S.E. (diff. %) = .05.

^bOffenses related to current commitment as well as offenses unrelated to current commitment were coded, so the increase may reflect record keeping variations, variations in coding procedures and changes in the population's characteristics. Significant at 5% level.

^cDifference is not significant.

^dThe number of cases during the earlier survey was 121 and during the subsequent survey 186. Only boys registered in school, which excluded many drop-outs, were tested during the earlier period. Tests were administered to a much larger proportion of the inmates only a few months before the more recent survey.

^eAlthough improved records as well as variations in coding practices may have contributed in part to this great difference, this change is consistent with the increase in the number of inmates from households in which the head was unemployed. Significant beyond the 0.1% level.

^fDifference is significant at 5% level.

The reduction in the number of older inmates, more serious offenders, and former inmates may contribute to easing controls by staff, or at least to minimizing their problems as they sought voluntaristic compliance. Also, the increased number of inmates from more rural areas, from households in which the head was unemployed and from broken homes may have contributed to an inmate population that fitted the institutional program better, i.e., were more amenable to institutional expectations. It is possible, of course, that Smith's relations with judges helped him to reduce both the age and severity of the offender, also that this might have been undertaken to facilitate implementing the program modifications that he invoked. Before we can understand the implications of the above changes in the inmate population, it is necessary to determine what happened to inmate perspectives with the change in administration.

Inmate Perspectives.--In Table 21 significantly higher percentages of inmates responded consistently in a manner reflecting positive orientations to the institution and its staff under Smith than under Jackson. This lends credence to the view that inmates perceived and responded to the modifications. Most notable is the 22% gain in the item on staff fairness, bearing in mind that staff were being encouraged to differentiate and not to employ universalistic criteria; also, the 16% gain on the item about staff not caring about inmates--this despite the fact that order and conformity in the regime had not changed markedly. The 19%

TABLE 21

INMATE PERSPECTIVES ON INSTITUTION AND STAFF

Inmate Perspectives	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Summary Index		
Score high positive on index ^d	42	58 ^a
Individual Items		
Would rather stay in present institution than in some other	43	62 ^b
Think this is a good place to be, relative to earlier expectation	37	66 ^b
Think this is a place that helps boys rather than a place to send or to punish them	33	37 ^c
Think they have been helped by their stay a great deal or quite a bit	72	76 ^c
Say adults can be a lot of help on finding out why they got into trouble and how to change	37	51 ^a
Say the staff members are pretty fair	59	81 ^b
Disagree with the statement that staff don't care about the inmates	42	58 ^a
Number of cases	(196-209)	(240-254)

^aSignificant at the 1% level; Maximum S.E.(diff.%) = .05.

^bSignificant at the 0.1% level.

^cNot significant.

^dA score of 4 or more was considered a high positive index. The maximum score was 7 and the minimum 0.

and 29% changes in the first two individual items, respectively, provide support for the idea that the institutional reputation had not caught up with current practices. Further evidence of the positive perceptions that inmates held of the institution's facilities and program are provided in Table 22.

TABLE 22
INMATE VIEWS ON FOOD, PROGRAM AND SUPERVISION

Inmate Views	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Say that "things like the food and sports here" are "worse for you here than they were at home"	56 ^a	45 ^a
Agree that "there are not enough things to do during free time"	55 ^b	59 ^b
Say they have received "a lot" or "some" help to prepare for future jobs "you would like to have"	59 ^b	63 ^b
Agree that "some boys can get away with too much"	74 ^b	69 ^b
N =	(203-207)	(248-255)

^aSignificant at the 5% level; S.E. (diff.%) = .05.

^bNot significant.

Here, too, the responses for three of the four items reflect a more positive attitude among inmate under Smith's regime. The smaller per cent agreeing that "some boys can get away with too much" suggests a reduction in the exploitation of privileges and of relations with staff, and

implies a modified operative mode by staff. It is important to bear in mind that a slightly more complex system of conditioning was implicit in the changed technology, not a psychotherapeutic model. Therefore, we would expect "reality" oriented responses to the program and to staff expectations, not "insight" oriented responses. This is indicated in the inmates' views on adaptation to the institution appearing in Table 23.

The data reveal an increase in the practical considerations essential to the inmate's release during the successor's administration, e.g., acceptance of the institutional norm of conformity.³⁴ At the same time the data show a significant reduction in anti-institutional responses (corresponding to the proportions of such responses in treatment oriented institutions).³⁵ This suggests an easing of the conditions which promote anti-institutional norms, and possibly a reduction in the coercion and exploitation of inmates by staff. It also suggests the persistence of obedience and deference expectations.

Inmate Relations.--Two other issues are examined as we assess the inmate response to the management of the successor. What are the implications for inmate relationships with one another? Using inmates against one another in a manner characteristic of the predecessor's administration tends to

³⁴This departed from the response pattern in treatment oriented institutions. Ibid., p. 205.

³⁵Ibid.

inhibit the formation of integrated informal systems and fosters suspicion of one another among inmates. What is the evidence on inmate relations and to what extent do the subsystem norms support anti- or pro-institutional norms?

TABLE 23

INMATE VIEWS ON ADAPTATION TO THE INSTITUTION

Inmate Views	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Perspectives on the best way to get along:		
"Stay out of the way of the adults but get away with what you can"	16	6 ^b
"Don't break any rules and keep out of trouble"	58	65
"Show that you are really sorry for what you did"	13	11
"Try to get an understanding of yourself"	12	5
"Be a chiefie"	a	13
N =	(187-202)	(244)

^aThis alternative was not used in the first and second surveys of the institution. It refers to the practice of toadying to staff. Omitting the number using that alternative (assuming that those responses would be distributed in the same manner as the others) would have increased the per cent of inmates selecting the second alternative to seventy-six per cent; the difference from the 58% during the predecessor's administration is significant at the 5% level.

^bSignificant at the five per cent level of confidence. S.E.(diff.%) = 4.3%.

TABLE 24

INMATES SOCIAL RELATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES ON OTHER INMATES		
Relations and Perspectives	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
Hang around with two or more boys	59	63 ^a
Have two or more close friends here	70	77 ^a
Want to see all or more inmates again after release	27	33 ^a
N =	(202-208)	(246-255)

^aNone of the differences is great enough to support rejection of the null hypothesis at the 5% level; however, the combined probabilities of differences of the obtained size all in the hypothesized direction is less than .0007.

Table 24 gives data on this question. The proportion of responses to every item indicates a more positive relationship and more positive orientation to peers under the successor than under the predecessor. However, increased inmate solidarity may be oppositional to the organization as well as supportive. Most studies of adults' prisons have noted the presence of inmates' informal system and, until the study reported by Street, it had been assumed that the oppositional model was inevitable.^{36,37} Here we note that data on inmate perspectives have already indicated positive views of the institution and the

³⁶D. Clemmer, The Prison Community (New York: Rinehart, 1958).

³⁷G. M. Sykes and S. L. Messinger, "The Inmate Social System," in R. A. Cloward, et al., Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960), pp. 5-7.

institutional experience. Below, in Table 25, is evidence that the inmate sub-system norms are not anti-institutional; rather inmates appear to have incorporated the norms of the institution itself.

TABLE 25

NORMS AGAINST "RATTING" TO STAFF

Inmates' Statement Choices	Predecessor's Administration (%)	Successor's Administration (%)
An inmate should not warn the staff of a plan to beat up an adult	38	23 ^a
An inmate should not tell the staff of plans to rough up the boy's friend	36	20 ^a
I would not tell the staff secretly who was stealing from the kitchen, when group punishment was being used	44	27 ^a
An inmate should not ever tell staff that another boy plans to run away	43	39 ^b
High opposition to telling staff on index summarizing items above	46	35 ^c
N =	(199-209)	(244-246)

^aSignificant at 1% level.

^bNot significant.

^cSignificant at 5% level.

We find that the inmate sub-system under the successor is more highly developed in a manner that is consistent with institutional needs and in a way that is conducive to the inmates integrating the institutional experience within

their normal operative mode. But it is unclear whether this is so because of changes in the composition of the inmate population, changes in the institutional program or because of the interaction of the two.

Inmate Background Characteristics and Inmate Perspectives.---

Table 26 presents the inmates perspectives on the institution and staff according to background characteristics of the inmates. The seven characteristics selected for the analysis are those which reflect changes in the inmate population from one executive to the next. Three of the attributes in the table may be linked logically to the extent of the inmates' deviancy, e.g., seriousness of offense, number of offenses and number of times returned to the institution. Only the last mentioned was significantly associated with inmates' perspectives, yet the population was not significantly different in that respect under the two executives. Therefore, it is the differential effect of the organization on inmates under each executive, rather than the change in population composition alone, that contributes to the shift in the inmates' perspectives under Smith. Additional support for that proposition is provided by the data on the number of offenses. In this respect the population differs significantly from what it was under the predecessor, but the number of offenses was not related to inmate perspectives. It is likely that the change reflected by the data is real and a function of better records on the inmates, rather than a change in inmate attributes under the

TABLE 26

INMATE SCORES ON INDEX OF PERSPECTIVES ON INSTITUTION AND STAFF, ACCORDING TO SEVEN BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Background Characteristic	Inmates with Positive Indices	
	Predecessor's Administration	Successor's Administration
Seriousness of major offense		
Less serious ^a	% 38 N (66)	% 48 N (99)
More serious	% 42 N (140)	% 42 N (127)
Number of offenses		
Less than three ^b	% 42 N (161)	% 59 N (188)
More than three	% 40 N (48)	% 57 N (86)
Number of times returned to the institution		
None ^c	% 44 N (156)	% 61 N (201)
One or more	% 31 N (52)	% 45 N (55)
Age		
15 or less ^d	% 34 N (94)	% 70 N (140)
16 and older	% 47 N (114)	% 40 N (116)

^aDifferences between administrations and categories are not significant.

^bDifferences between administrations in both categories significant beyond 5%.

^cDifferences between administrations in "None" category and between categories in the Successor's administration are significant at 5% level.

^dDifferences between categories in Successor's administration and between administrations for the "younger" category are significant beyond 1%.

^eDifferences between categories in the Successor's administration and between administrations for the "Not In-tact" category are significant beyond 5%. (See p. 191.)

^fSignificant at the 1% level; no inmates from counties with cities over 90,000. (See p. 191.)

^gDifference between administrations in "Blue Collar" category is significant at 1%. (See p. 191.)

TABLE 26 (Continued)

Background Characteristic	Inmates with Positive Indices		
	Predecessor's Administration	Successor's Administration	
Family situation intact, no problems ^e	% N	46 (95)	43 (49)
Not intact	% N	36 (111)	61 (205)
Rural origin ^f	% N	41 (208)	58 (252)
Occupation of head of household			
White Collar ^g	% N	22 (18)	45 (19)
Blue Collar or not in the labor force	% N	42 (179)	59 (219)

successor. If only changes in the composition of the population had contributed to the shift in perspectives, the perspectives of the inmates under the predecessor would have been associated with inmate attributes. That was not the case. Further, we would have expected to find some tendency for an attribute to be associated with perspectives and an increase in the population having that attribute. That did not occur.

Although data on the population did not reveal a significant difference in age, (except in heterogeneity) that was an artifact of the categories employed. When the proportion of the population under sixteen is compared with the proportion of the population age sixteen or older, the difference is significant at the 5% level of confidence. A

reversal in the effects of the institution on perspectives by age is observable and a very significant change in the attitudes of younger boys is evident. Similar patterns appear for other attributes, such as coming from a family that was not intact, coming from a more rural area, and coming from a family in which the head was a blue collar worker or not in the labor force. Evidently, significant differences in perspectives are related to inmate attributes under the successor, but not under the predecessor. These facts support the contention that the change in inmate perspectives stem from the interaction of organizational effects and changes in the composition of the institution's population. Unfortunately, neither the size of the population nor the types of measures employed permit accounting for the relative proportions of the variance contributed by each of the attributes, the change in administration and interaction between the two.

The fact that the seriousness of offense is not part of the picture, suggests that offenses, per se, may provide little guidance in identifying the effects of correctional programs and prescribing appropriate programs. On the other hand the age and social background of the offender do seem to have implications for the kind of program provided and its effects.

In order to ascertain the pervasiveness of the effects of inmate background characteristics, the same variables were controlled in an examination of inmates' attitudes

about "telling" on other inmates and an index on inmate solidarity. The results were similar. The only exceptions were the lack of associations between family occupational background and rural background and a high index of inmate solidarity. Illustrative of those findings are the data on ages of the inmates. Of the younger inmates, 77% had a high score on the "ratting index" (would tell), but only 58% of the older inmates had a high score ($N=256$, $S.E. = 6.5\%$, probability is less than $.01$). Fifty-three per cent of the younger inmates had a high score on the solidarity index in contrast to 23% of the older inmates ($N=256$, $S.E. = 6.3\%$, probability less than $.001$). It is evident that the successor's program produced differential effects on the inmates according to inmate attributes. Program effects and changes in the composition of the population contributed to the shift in inmate perspectives of the institution, inmate solidarity and inmate norms on ratting.

Summary

In this chapter we have linked the operational technologies of the two executives to the staff perspectives and relational methods that staff employed with inmates, and in turn the staff perspectives and relational methods to the inmate perspectives and sub-system formation. We have noted that certain problems were manifest for each executive that were peculiar to his internal strategy, and also that there have been a set of consequences for the staff and inmate sub-systems that reflects the strategies of the respective

executives: The predecessor, in a more vigorous, thoroughgoing manner, attempted to direct all aspects of the institution's operation. His authoritarian manner and inclination to support over-strictness rather than laxity and need to maintain absolute controls over both staff and inmates promoted a rigid hierarchal scheme in which inmates were incorporated in the interest of the institution. There was little identification with inmate interests, and thus we find that inmates tended to hold essentially negative perspectives of the institution, its program, and its significance for themselves.

In contrast, the minimal changes invoked by the successor, despite gaps between his intentions and the staff's capacity to implement them, managed to convey quite a different notion of the institution to inmates with modest, though visible differences in inmates perspectives. However, it is also evident that in part the change was due to a different population of inmates. The changed population was somewhat more malleable and more accepting of demands for conformity and deference (consistent with their youth and the deprivation of their home background). The institution inculcated a more positive perspective of itself, greater acceptance of institutional norms without the anti-institutional reactions characteristic of obedience/conformity type institutions.

Although the modest changes sought in organizational purposes left the institution at the obedience/conformity

region of a custody-treatment continuum, the changes produced a modified impact on the inmates and reflected a different relationship with the environment. The findings reveal the kind of limited response to prevailing trends that is possible under the environmental conditions and organizational character that existed for the successor in acceding to office. But, they also indicate the range of options available to the executive and the potential of those options. In addition the interdependence of internal and external operations in the life of the organization is apparent.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

We have examined a correctional institution for male juveniles under the administration of successive executives. The institution was of the obedience/conformity type according to an earlier study and had been found to be stable at the time of that study.¹ Subsequent to a change in executives and turnover of all staff, except the chaplain, the institution was re-examined. The environmental conditions and external strategies of the new executive received special attention to illuminate the adaptation of this type of institution.

Substantive goals of the executives were derived from an analysis of four underlying elements: (1) executive backgrounds, (2) the "definition of the situation," (3) the terms of succession and (4) the organizational character.² The goals specified by the executives and their external and internal strategies were compared.³

The external strategies provided the basis for determining the organizational-environmental relations and their reciprocal influences. The organization was treated

¹Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 264-268.

²Supra, Chapter IV.

³Supra, Chapters V and VI.

as the focal position of interest groups that were relevant to various organizational needs. The exchange of influence was mediated by the boundary role definitions, which was an aspect of the executives' external strategy. Executive orientation to the environment and the organizational goals provided a basis for inferring the role performance mechanisms employed by the executive. The size of the organization set, its integration, and the advertency, saliency and potency of interest groups in the organization set, provided the bases for inferring the influence of various interests.

Internal strategies were viewed as the means for implementing the goals that the executives had specified and included the organizational technology, expected staff-inmate relations and the communication-coordination techniques for managing the organization's thrust. The impact of the thrust was inferred from the inmate norms, perspectives and sub-system structure.

The basic assumption is that neither external nor internal operations alone suffice for managing a viable organization or protecting executive tenure. It is hypothesized that, between the two, the demands of external forces dominate internal forces in shaping organizational behavior.

Summary of the Findings

The major substantive findings of the research are listed in brief form below. Following the list, each of the numbered items will be discussed in order. The

discussion of each item will consider the contributing conditions, implications for other aspects of the study and propositions that the findings support.

1. Organizational goals were stable over a five-year period (within the obedience/conformity region of a custody-treatment goal continuum), despite minor variation in goal emphasis.
2. Both executives manifested tendencies "to restrict the observability of the institution," but the successor, because local origin and external power gave him security, exposed his staff to comparative reference groups and engaged in extra-organizational relations that differed in type from those of Jackson. There was greater organizational accommodation to external pressure during Smith's tenure.
3. Changes in the organizational technology by Smith contributed to weakening the traditional thrust of the institution. Incipient bifurcation was evident and staff perspectives were more diverse and inconsistent. The balance of power among staff groups changed; over-all tension was less, but relatively high tension developed between certain staff groups. Inmate use was modified and the length of stay was reduced.
4. Under the successor, inmate perspectives were more positive and sub-system solidarity was higher, than under the predecessor; also, the inmate population was younger, from more rural, more deprived backgrounds and more homogenous, than under Jackson's regime. The change in inmate perspectives and sub-system formation was associated with differences in the program, differences in the inmate population and interaction between the two. It was not related to length of stay.

The sections discussing the above findings are:

- (1) organizational goals, (2) extra-organizational strategy, environmental relations and implications for the organization, (3) implications of executive internal strategies for organizational structure and staff sub-systems and (4) executive internal strategies and inmate sub-system responses.

Organizational Goals.--The two executives shared similar perspectives of human behavior, of delinquency, and of its causes and cures. Both executives owed their appointments to the political patronage system, but each came to the office under different conditions and each represented a somewhat different approach to the management of the institution for his party. Also, each executive differed in background.

The predecessor was a "crisis" appointee, who had to "clean up" the institution to protect his party's image. His background as a teacher, his "professional" training and response to laxity in the administration of the executive that he replaced fostered an emphasis on firmness and objective, more detached relations. Because these views were imposed on authoritarian notions of human management, he failed to communicate the idea of "understanding" which he intended to accompany his human relations principles. The successor was selected because of his local background and experience as sheriff in the county where the institution was located. His appointment was traditional, in that it, too, followed customary patronage practices and occurred after a change in state administration. Although the successor faced similar demands, "to enhance the image of the party," criticisms of his predecessor's regime provided a different orientation to the institution. He had to avoid the harshness of the previous administration, continue the orderly management of the institution and improve on his

predecessor's record.

The predecessor had employed the report of a Citizens' Committee as his major guide in attending to the physical facilities of the institution. The successor did likewise, but he also had access to the study of the organization during his predecessor's administration and was more successful in his efforts to provide evidence of his "effectiveness."⁴

Jackson, as a member of the minority party, and from outside the county, had limited power to influence the funds allocated to the institution. To meet patronage demands, after the defeat of his party in the mid-term election, he had to discharge the remaining personnel affiliated with the opposition and make room for party members. In doing so, he antagonized the local community which had a proprietary interest in the institution. Smith represented local interests, and because of his affiliation with the dominant party and personal ties with prominent legislators and judges (through his experience as sheriff), operated in a different climate than the predecessor. Further, his career aims were satisfied by his appointment as executive, while the predecessor sought to enhance his political career by using the executiveship as a stepping stone.

Each executive formulated goals which were much alike, since both shared perspectives that prevailed in the

⁴The study referred to is that reported in Street, Vinter, and Ferrow, op. cit.

region and both occupied a precarious appointive position. However, there were two major differences. Jackson was committed to overcoming the laxness of a prior administration, which implied more order and greater severity in his program; also, his background and political ambitions led him to manage, personally, the full range of external and internal operations. Despite the simplistic program, the number of operations, alone, made it impossible for him to be adequately informed and to control all activities. In contrast, Smith had to reduce the harshness of the earlier administration and still maintain order. The absence of professionalism and higher education in his background permitted, even encouraged, a more personal approach to interpersonal relations and greater dependence on upper-level staff and external interests. In addition, changes in the power balance within his own party and in the structure of the parent organization, ultimately implied a slight shift in Smith's mandate (toward more extensive inmate change).

The predecessor was committed to obedience/conformity goals, which were to be achieved by strong negative sanctions, with overt conformity and deference as evidence of success. The successor was also committed to the obedience/conformity model and employed a simple, conditioning technology. But he was concerned about the implications of coercion, as well. He advocated voluntaristic compliance as a means for managing inmates and extended the range of sanctions to include positive and negative

reinforcement. He increased control over inmate indoctrination and over the use of inmates and reduced line-staff control of punishment and influence over length of stay. Smith, also, reduced the length of stay and procured a more homogeneous, more manageable population, consistent with his program philosophy.⁵

Despite the fact organizational goals were stable over a five-year period, in contrast to the one-year period in the earlier study, a number of combinations and permutations among goal emphases seem possible within the obedience/conformity goal range. It appears that each type of institution categorized by Street occupies a range on the goal continuum, not a precise point.⁶ Although substantive goals differentiate organizations that are proximately similar, more exact measures and better identification of relevant dimensions are needed to discriminate between highly similar organizations. The findings cited above permit generalizing to two areas central to this thesis. First, they contribute to assessing the relationship between external and internal influences on organizational behavior. Second, they may help specify the dimensions and measures essential for more accurately differentiating among highly similar organizations, as well as some of their effects.

The findings on organizational goals provide the

⁵Infra, pp. 209-211.

⁶Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit.

bases for hypotheses about variation in the external and internal strategies of the executives. Although goal differences are minimal, the local background of the successor and the dominance of his party imply wider ranging and more intimate extra-organizational relations (within the tendency to restrict organizational observability predicted for both executives). Therefore, a higher level of influence-exchange and greater organizational accommodation to the environment would be hypothesized for Smith than for Jackson. The minimal shift in goals, also, supports the proposition that organizational technology, staff perspectives, staff-inmate relations and inmate sub-system responses would be constant from one administration to the other. However, if the hypothesis on organizational accommodation to the environment is confirmed, then the implications of the substantive goals are moot and the effects of contradictory influences will provide evidence bearing on the relative potency of external and internal operations for shaping organizational behavior.

Extra-Organizational Strategy, Environmental Relations
and Implications for the Organization

Reviewing the findings on environmental changes and organizational relations with the environment subsequent to the change in executives, we note that three proposals for legislation initiated in 1957, by progressive interest groups, were finally passed in 1965. The substance of the legislation included the abolishment of capital punishment,

the revision of the criminal code and the creation of an autonomous, professionalized, department of corrections. Three other events suggest pressures for a change in the organization's mandate: the citizens' committee's report, a new head for the parent organization and the establishing of a liaison position linking all correctional programs with the parent organization. (The earlier study reported in Street, Vinter and Ferrow might also be considered a source of pressure.)⁷ Nevertheless, we found the goals of the organization remained essentially unchanged.

Bearing in mind that the correctional measure was emasculated in passage, it is evident that progressive interests came out second best in the confrontation with local proprietary interests and the political machine. If we also observe that the resources that were provided subsequent to the appointment of the liaison person were appended to the institution rather than incorporated within it, the legitimacy and public support for a change in the mandate appear to represent a change in form, not in function; thus characteristic of the isolative, dual forms of political culture attributed to mixed societies in transition.⁸ Ohlin indicated that considerable effort and skill had to be mobilized by interests seeking to modernize correctional

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ G. A. Almond and J. S. Coleman, eds. The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 11-64, 532-558.

practices, because of the entrenched position of traditional interests.⁹ He also alluded to the ". . . large and important networks of interests that are involved in correctional activity," and the danger of considering only obvious allies.¹⁰

In the present case, a close examination of the situation reveals that local interests were extremely important in the destiny of the institution and together with the political machinery were able to block progressive legislation on corrections. Other modernizing legislation, e.g., abolishing capital punishment and revising the criminal code, was passed because of support by pervasive, primary relational networks. (The former benefited from the support of two "institutionalized interest groups," religion and education, and the latter had the support of an "institutionalized associational interest group," the state bar association.) Local elites with access to the primary, relational networks were not engaged in the change process by progressive correctional interests, whose influentials did not have access to the local proprietary interests that dominated the state's institutional program.

The above findings point to three elements that are significant for organizational adaptation stability issues: (1) interest group structure, (2) the inter-system distance

⁹Ohlin, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

¹⁰Ibid.

and (3) the relational or communication techniques prevailing. These findings are consistent with the work of Lewin, and Katz and Lazarsfeld, as well as with the theoretical statements advanced by Litwak and Meyer.^{11,12,13} The findings also deny that progressive correctional interests are able to modify directly organizational mandates toward more rehabilitative ends by merely increasing their influence among top elites. Quite obviously, locals exercise a powerful veto.

The findings on the size and structure of major organization sets relevant to the institution and on the executives' relational methods inform us further on the environmental-organizational exchange of influence. There were sharp differences in the techniques employed for securing funds, facilitating releases and managing inmate input. From the variations we draw inferences about the significance of differences in the structure of the organization set and about the boundary structure and relational techniques appropriate.

In the first area mentioned above, the influence structure was pyramidal in form. The predecessor had to

¹¹K. Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947).

¹²Katz and Lazarsfeld, op. cit.

¹³Litwak and Meyer, op. cit., pp. 33-58.

engage a large number of interests, while the successor traded volume for potency by engaging a limited number of influentials nearer the apex. On the other hand, it is not possible to secure the economy of effort by trading volume for potency when a pluralistic structure exists, e.g., in the case of relatively autonomous child welfare offices, the courts, or heterogeneous service agencies.

There is little doubt that the successor's greater extra-organizational power, in part derived from his local background, enabled him to exercise more control over the allocation of organizational positions and, thus, enabled him to risk using his core staff in extra-organizational tasks. He was able to increase placements behind the requirements made of his predecessor, by the wide-ranging activities of his social service director. The primitive integration of the juvenile court system, which was evident in the formation of a juvenile court judges' association, contributed to the successor's ability to disseminate his ideas about the institution's program and appropriate juveniles. But, obtaining control over the intake process and the type of inmate was accomplished at the cost of accommodating a larger flow of inmates and a reduction in the length of stay. The predecessor, who dealt with a less integrated set of courts, did not appear concerned about accommodating to their needs. He required fewer post-release placements and he and his social service director worked through the state offices rather than with local agencies. It is

impossible to say how much these policies may have contributed to criticisms of his administration.

We note that as the number of sets and the number of interests in each set increased (as Smith expanded the organization's search), Smith assigned more staff to special segments of the environment. He did not divide his administrative functions into "inside" and "outside" components, rather, he sub-divided each of the two areas. Whether that represented a deliberate, rational attempt to manage a large and diverse environment, or a natural accommodation to his own limitations and strengths, is difficult to say. In either event, it proved effective in coping with external forces, but posed problems of integration and organizational consistency.

Implications of Executive Internal Strategies for Organizational Structure and the Staff Sub-System

Propositions.--An increase in the extent of inmate change, emphasized by organizational goals, is associated with:

1. an increase in the qualifications of staff,
2. a more differentiated organizational structure,
3. increased complexity of internal operations,
4. increased specialization within the administration of the organization,
5. a shift in the power balance among staff groups, e.g., more power will be allocated to groups whose tasks attain legitimacy in achieving the change in the inmates, and a decline in power allocated to groups whose tasks decrease in legitimacy for achieving inmate change.

6. a reduction in the severity of sanctions perceived necessary by staff.¹⁴

Findings.--The data on organizational structure refuted proposition 1. Three factors seem to account for the finding: first, the influence of local interests and the absence of more highly qualified personnel in the community; second, low salaries that did not attract personnel with special education or training (Smith expressed an interest in social work staff, but the activities that he had in mind, casework with a large number of inmates, would have been inconsistent with his program; third, the minor variation in goal emphasis did not demand an increase in staff quality beyond the outside resources provided).

Propositions 2-5 received support and, thereby, appear to be the major factors in the inmate change which was observed. The data on the formal structure (see Figs. and 2) suggest a more clear-cut departmentalization, an increased number of hierarchal levels in one section of the organization, an emergent division of labor between executive and his assistant (an incipient bifurcation) and to some extent the school

¹⁴The propositions provided for this and the next section are offered as a heuristic device. They bear on the findings in the last two items of the summary list and provide evidence from the staff and inmate surveys. Brevity is enhanced and the apparent contradictions in the findings are made explicit for analysis. It is assumed that the direction of organizational development and change follow the custody-treatment goal continuum, and the propositions are based on staff and inmate phenomena that Street found associated with various goal-type organizations. In that sense they replicate the earlier study and in part test the stability of the relationship between goals means and ends in obedience/conformity institutions. Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit.

principal.¹⁵ Tables 5 and 6 imply increased power for the cottage parents and school personnel, who were the prime implementers of the slightly modified program, and less power for farm and work supervisors and the social service director.¹⁶ The specialization appears to be "task integration," rather than organizational integration, and was accompanied by independence among task groups, lower levels of tension, and diversity of staff perspectives.¹⁷ Proposition 6, received some support in Table 16; but, on the whole, inconsistent and diverse staff perspectives suggest that the modest change in goal emphasis was not reflected in staff perspectives.¹⁸ However, the internal segmentation of the program, constraints against physical punishment, reduction in line-staff autonomy and explication of rules governing the inmate ranking system seem to have produced a dilution of the organization's traditional thrust. Certainly, the weakened traditional thrust, hypothesized above, would be conducive to and would facilitate additional goal modification. Table 19 also tends to support the modest shift suggested above. However, the diversity and inconsistencies of staff perspectives also could have arisen from Smith's ineffective communication, indoctrination and coordination techniques. Staff may have received mixed, ambiguous cues

¹⁵Supra, pp. 140-148.

¹⁶Supra, pp. 152-154.

¹⁷Supra, pp. 155-162.

¹⁸Supra, p. 176.

from the executive, or they simply did not know how to implement his expectations and he did not, or was not able to, help them.

Executive Internal Strategies and
Inmate Sub-System Responses

Propositions.--An increase in the extent of inmate change, emphasized by organizational goals, is associated with:

1. more positive inmate perspectives of the institution and staff,
2. increased identification with institutional norms by the inmates,
3. increased sub-system formation among inmates.

Findings.--The three propositions above were supported. Tables 21 and 22 provide clear evidence of the positive attitudes of the inmates toward the institution and toward staff, while Tables 24 and 25 support proposition 3.¹⁹ But, changes in the organizational technology, staff perspectives and manner of relating to inmates did not reveal the marked shift that a change in position on the goal continuum would denote. It seems unlikely that the slight change in goal emphasis would produce the marked changes in inmate perspectives and inmate relations that were detected. Although, the population changed significantly from that of Jackson's administration,²⁰ the application of controls to inmate attributes confirmed the impact of the slightly modified program on inmates.²¹ However, the impact was greatest on

¹⁹Supra, pp. 183, 184, 187 and 188.

²⁰Supra, p. 181.

²¹Supra, pp. 190-191.

inmates with certain characteristics, e.g., those that typified the change in population.

The population of the institution during Smith's regime was more homogeneous, which suited a program designed for mass handling of inmates. A significantly larger proportion of boys were younger, from more rural areas, from families which were broken and from families in which the head of the household was either unemployed or a blue collar worker.²² Those attributes suggest a youth less likely to be autonomous and self-sufficient and, therefore, more likely to accept adult authority. In addition, it is quite obvious that, as a group, they had more deprived backgrounds. The two crucial variables bearing on inmate perspectives and sub-system formation were the "gratification-deprivation balance" and "rigorous staff control."²³ Deprivation is a relative concept and the obverse of staff control is inmate rights. The meshing of a weakened traditional program with strengthened inmate rights and a more deprived inmate population yielded an organizational product that, in some respects, resembled that of institutions closer to the treatment end of the goal continuum.

Conclusions

The evidence above indicates quite clearly the distinctions between the predecessor and successor executives

²²Ibid.

²³Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op. cit., pp. 224-225.

and the chain of consequences that followed the rather modest changes that took place during Smith's administration. It should be clear that these changes were not wholly the doing of the successor. Considerable data indicate his similarity to the predecessor, and correspondingly, the extent to which his program was continuous with what existed when he took office.

The fact that he had been in office about three years prior to any extensive shift in program points to three facts. First, because of the autonomy of the executive, the precariousness of the position and his strategic location for controlling information about organizational events, innovation is difficult and playing it safe is easy. Second, in a public institution, clear support for change from the parent organization is essential. Third, adequate means of observation and communications are required for effective organizational intelligence, e.g., the liaison person provided by the parent organization. In this study, it appeared that the successor, even though holding some perspectives consistent with a more benign program, needed considerable pressure from the parent organization for slight movement toward more rehabilitative emphasis. The obedience/conformity model, from within the institution itself, is a self-fulfilling prophecy. The total institutional structure of this model usually denies the executive information necessary for evaluating his program by any other criteria. However, obedience/conformity type

institutions are not free of environmental influences as the administrations of both executives clearly indicate.

Two other areas bear on our conclusions. The proprietary interest of the local community, while somewhat extreme in this case, is not atypical. The residents in the vicinity of any correctional institution tend to be skittish and concerned about escapes, thus they are the most salient segment of the general public. Whenever an institution is separated from a large metropolitan center, the nearest community is a likely residence for employees of the correctional institution and thus it has access to information about daily organizational events, in addition to escapes. Therefore, it appears that progressive interests must neutralize an extremely sensitive segment of the public, in order to facilitate greater acceptance of more progressive notions about corrections, even juvenile corrections. In this study, the importance of the local background of the successor cannot be underestimated. Because of his local alliance, he had freedom that was not available to his predecessor, particularly in his security about staff. This enabled him to send staff to conferences and meetings and expose them to a wide range of alternate perspectives.

Even the reduction in the length of stay, which was a trade-off for control over the intake process and which facilitated inmate indoctrination, was possible only because of the relations that existed between the institution and the local community during Smith's tenure. It was the

exchange of demands with the courts that permitted Smith to secure the population that fitted his program and, in effect, signalled a modified ideology.²⁴

The other area of concern bearing on our conclusions relates to the relative power of the two executives. Clearly Smith, as a member of the dominant political party, had less need to fear the implications for his party than Jackson (although he did, nevertheless). Jackson was burdened by a depression with visible effects on his budget, but it is debatable whether he could have significantly bettered the institution's position, even in prosperity. The state's economic recovery was quite marked by 1960, yet the increase in the institution's budget was small compared to other state agencies.

The two points above, along with the circumstances that led to the successor's modifications in his program, serve to highlight the importance of environmental influences on the institution. It is inconceivable that the institution studied could have obtained an executive that would have been willing and able to institute changes without the support of the parent organization, a great deal of effort in the local community, and support of the dominant political party.²⁵ He would have required autonomy that is

²⁴Supra, p. 124.

²⁵This indicates the integration of substantive goals and the local community environment. Clearly "local," rather than "cosmopolitan" perspectives, constrain toward stability.

not usually available in a public system, because of the multiple links of the local public with the state, e.g., local residents on institution staff and taxpayer-voter status.

The significance of environmental influences on an obedience/conformity type institution, such as that examined here, appears well documented, even in the face of the considerable amount of power that the executive held in this case. It is the local environment that dominates pressures toward "ideological change," but it may have considerably less power to influence "technological change."

Several other general propositions are supported, but in view of the single case examined, need to be considered hypotheses, rather than tested propositions. First, the ability of an executive to manage observability and to control the flow of information across organizational boundaries is directly related to the power of the executive. Second, the potency of interest groups is directly related to their social and geographic immediacy to the organization. Third, the potency of progressive correctional interests is inversely related to the integration of traditional interests and directly related to the technological and professional development of the region. Other factors being equal, it (potency of progressive interests) is also positively, but indirectly, related to the pressure placed on the correctional program by high delinquency rates. Fourth, within a single institutional type, e.g.,

obedience/conformity, a range of boundary structures, each with its own implications for organizational-environmental influences, are available to the executive. Fifth, the more integrated the interests of an organization set are, the greater the potential impact of external contacts by the organization, e.g., the association of juvenile courts judges and their conferences allowed Smith to work with the entire set, accommodating to their responses and exploiting areas of support. Corollary: The more integrated the interests of an organization set are, the greater the potential impact of its contacts with the institution, e.g., consensus among the courts about standards for the institution would increase the available sanctions and would be more likely to secure organizational accommodation. Sixth, the executive's orientation to the environment is a function of the external power of the executive, i.e., the greater the executive's power, the less implacable the environment. Seventh, traditional patterns of executive authority (superordination-subordination) within an institution are antithetical to programs requiring staff discretion and autonomy; further, it tends to create barriers to effective inculcation of desired staff attitudes and perspectives. Eighth, the program manifest by this institution is a short-run, expedient program with problematic potential, e.g., policies governing release provide for parole to inmates under seventeen years of age; at the same time returnees are required to serve longer periods than first admissions; thus, the program is

creating a large population of parolees, whose length of stay must be greater than the present capacity and input pressure will tolerate (unless the program is so effective that an unusually low proportion of parolees are returned, or they are remanded to higher courts).²⁶

We have treated the conditioning program employed in this obedience/conformity institution as though in some ways it is inferior to "more complex" and "more sophisticated" psycho-analytic or psycho-therapeutic models. In part that has been due to the readiness of the simple conditioning program to regress to a punitive model. Further, the most simple model does not seem to have the range and flexibility that treating human beings requires. However, recent advances in operant conditioning and reinterpretations of transactions in psycho-therapeutic processes suggest that conditioning possesses considerable resocialization potential.²⁷ Therefore, additional research is

²⁶Of course they can change their rules and not increase the length of stay for returnees.

²⁷J. D. Findley, B. M. Migler and J. V. Brady, "A Long-term Study of Human Performance in a Continuously Programmed Experimental Environment," Space Research Laboratory, Technical Report Series (College Park, University of Maryland, Department of Psychology, 1963); I. Goldiamond, "Self-Control Procedures in Personal Behavior Problems," Psychol. Rep., 1965, (Monogr. Suppl. 3-V17), pp. 851-868; L. Krasner and L. P. Ullmann, Research in Behavior Modification (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965); O. Milton, ed., Behavior Disorders: Perspectives and Trends (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1965), pp. 237-262; A. W. Staats, ed., Human Learning (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964); V. O. Tyler, Jr., "Exploring the Use of Operant Techniques in the Rehabilitation of Delinquent Boys," Paper read at Amer. Psychol. Assoc., Chicago, September, 1965); L. P.

indicated in the application of behavioral modification techniques to juvenile delinquents; it may very well be that better understanding of delinquency as well as treatment processes will find a place for the more economical, pragmatic, reality oriented programs.

The findings of this study, also indicate that "who is being treated" and the means are interrelated. Even an institution in the obedience/conformity range of the goal continuum can produce positively oriented inmates who trust and relate to each other.

This institution revealed no "ideological change," but succumbed to pressures from its management of resources. This suggests how progressive correctional interests may indirectly influence organizational programs and goals. Because of increase public attention to delinquency, law enforcement agencies and courts contributed to population pressures on the institution. Although the short-term adaptation produces an apparently "improved" product with little change in organizational technology, the crisis implicit in the current program could very well promote improved correctional practices.

If societal change is manifested in increased

Ullmann and L. Krasner, ed., Case Studies in Behavior Modification (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965); R. E. Weber, ed., Education and Delinquency (Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966); J. Wolpe, "Isolation of a Conditioning Procedure as the Crucial Psychotherapeutic Factor: A Case Study," Jnl. Nervous Mental Dis., 1962, 134, 316-329;

differentiation and specialization, then the narrow scope of this program implies institutional specialization. The basis for the specialization may not be sound, but it may provide a stimulus to the formation of alternative programs for handling the population excluded from this institution, returnees, or other special populations.

Some Policy Considerations in Promoting Benign Programs for Juvenile Corrections

Although salaries were low at the institution that was studied, there are a large number of institutions with low salaries. Generally salaries are related to general wages and the cost of living in an area, so low salaries per se need not handicap an institution in acquiring adequate personnel. Other job conditions seem just as important and some of the more important are recognition, in-service training and salary increments based on demonstrable increases in knowledge and/or skill.

Other non-wage factors might be to emphasize the personal satisfaction of institutional positions, or the contribution to society, e.g., the value of fifty or more years of productive life for inmates, the importance of properly evaluating the responsibility of society to youth and the importance of helping youth assume responsibility.

More intensive programs oriented toward the immediate community in which the institution is located are required. Such programs might seek to include members of the community on advisory boards for institutions. They might

include some provision for indemnification of local citizens against property losses. (There have already been proposals to reimburse the victims of crimes for their losses.) They should attempt to break down misperceptions on the part of the community and overcome inmate feelings of inadequacy and rejection. Such programs would reduce the problem of inmate institutionalization and would facilitate carrying over into post-institutional life some of the benefits of the institutional program.

APPENDIX A-1

SCALE OF UNDERSTANDING

Scale Type	Item Number			Non-Scale Types	Perfect Scale Types	Total	Per Cent	
	4	1	2					
Understanding is difficult	I	-	-	-	10	21	31	25
	II	+	-	-	11	70	81	64
	III	+	+	-	0	10	10	8
Understanding is the key	IV	+	+	+	0	4	4	3
Totals					21	105	126	100

Coefficient of Reproducibility .94

Item	Positive Position	Per Cent
4. Sympathetic understanding is the key to helping delinquents	1,2	77
1. We can try, but it is difficult to understand the peculiar behavior of delinquents	3,4,5	23
2. Understanding may be important in helping delinquents, but what is really needed is strictness and firmness.	4,5	13*

*The proportion responding to this item is too extreme to meet criteria for inclusion in the scale. However, the high probability for securing an acceptable coefficient of reproducibility by chance and an inadequate definition of the underlying dimension which would result from employing a two-item scale appear to be the greater short-coming. The ordering of the items differs from that employed by Street. Using his order for the items leads to an inconsistency in the data for staff under the successor, e.g., fewer staff appear at both extremes of the scale, indicating contradictory shifts in staff positions. The limited number of items raises a question about the underlying unidimensionality which Guttman-Scaling Techniques are designed to reflect. However, a larger number of items is assumed by such procedures. The few items employed here apparently comprise such a small segment of the understanding component implicit in the custody-treatment continuum, that it is subject to variable interpretations, particularly within a limited range at the lower end of the continuum. The Coefficient of Reproducibility dropped to .89 when the original order of the items was employed.

APPENDIX A-2

SCALE OF DISCIPLINE

Scale Type	Item Number			Non-Scale Types	Perfect Scale Types	Total	Per Cent
	6	3	5				
Discipline is emphasized	I	-	-	10	26	36	30
	II	+	-	3	43	46	38
	III	+	+	0	28	28	24
Permissiveness is empha- sized	IV	+	+	0	9	9	8
	Totals			13	106	119	100

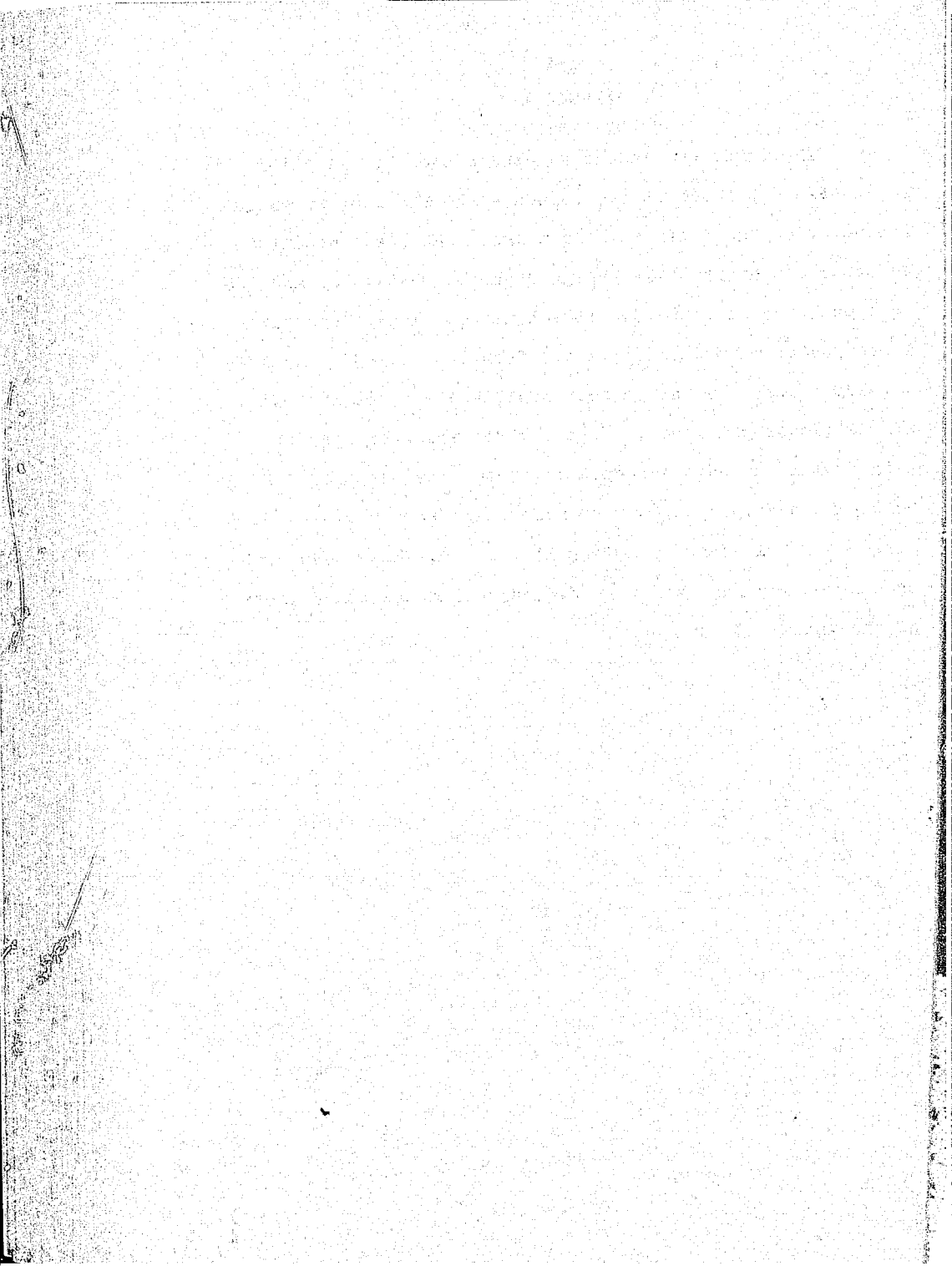
Coefficient of Reproducibility = .92

Item	Positive Position	Per Cent
6. One of the things a delinquent needs is to express feelings without being punished.	1,2	64
3. Delinquents have to be punished, if they're going to learn behavior.	3,4,5	24
2. Understanding may be important in helping delinquents, but what is really needed is strictness and firmness.	3,4,5	10*
5. Society is going to have to be a lot tougher than it has been, if it is going to cut down on delinquency.	4,5	26
7. The trouble with delinquents is that they haven't learned to treat adults with respect and obedience.	4,5	15*

*These items were omitted from the scaling procedure because of the extreme proportions responding positively. This was undoubtedly a function of the position of the institution on the custody-treatment goal continuum. With a broader spectrum of institutional goals represented a higher proportion of staff probably would respond positively to these two items. The Coefficient of Reproducibility dropped to .86 when the entire set of six items was employed in their original order (as used by Street).

APPENDIX A-3
SANCTIONS INDEX

The Sanctions Index was constructed by assigning scale values to each of the responses to the four items in Section C of the Staff questionnaire. The least penalizing response was arbitrarily assigned the highest value and the most punitive response the lowest value. The values given to responses on each item ranged from 0-3 or 1-3. The lowest score possible was 2 (most punitive) and the maximum was 12 (least punitive). In order to avoid the loss of data from items that were not complete, the responses of respondents completing two or more items were weighted to yield the equivalent of a four-item score. Respondents who completed only one item were excluded from the comparisons of the index scores.



CONTINUED

5 OF 7

APPENDIX A-4
INMATE INDICES

The three inmate indices employed in this study are based on selected items derived from a factor analysis carried out as part of the research procedures of The Comparative Study of Juvenile Correctional Institutions: A Research Report.¹ That study included inmates from a range of institutions (according to the custody-treatment continuum). Although Street raises a question about the suitability of the factor analysis techniques employed for the measures provided by the research, the exploratory purpose, the empirical results and the logical coherence of the items within each factor developed support the use of those techniques.

Each of the items employed had factor loadings of at least .40 and the clusters of factors accounted for 95% of the variance in the matrix of correlation coefficients based on 40 items. (Varimax rotations with a principal axes procedure was used.) Since dispersion according to implicit criterion variables is the essence of such a procedure, the data on different states of an institution within a limited range on the criterion measure (as is the case in this study) do not lend themselves to the isolation of separate factors and the construction of indices. Rather, the situation provides a test of the precision of existing indices. It becomes possible to determine whether the measures are fine

¹R. D. Vinter et al., The Comparative Study of Juvenile Correctional Institutions: A Research Report (Ann Arbor: School of Social Work, University of Michigan, 1961) Chapter 17 and Appendix H.

APPENDIX A-4 (Continued)

enough to discriminate within a limited range of the custody-treatment continuum, although it is also possible that this study may suggest dimensions which do adequately discriminate within the limited range.

The factor loadings for each of the items that comprise a single index in this study are provided below. Each Index was identified as a single factor in the factor analysis alluded to above. All the items were weighted equally and a score of 1 was assigned to the category of response consistent with the factor loadings. The scores were summed to produce the index score.

FACTOR LOADINGS

Questionnaire Item Number	Variable	Coop- era- tive Views	Inmate Solli- dar- ity	Positive Perspec- tive of Institu- tion and Staff
21.	Should tell staff of plans to beat up adult			
20.	Tell about plan to rough up a boy	-.691		
23.	Tell about a boy's plan to run	-.666		
22.	Tell about stealing from the kitchen	-.595		
9.	How many boys you hang around with	-.460		
10.	How many close friends		-.584	
11.	How many boys here you want to see again		-.553	
24.	Is this a place that helps		-.400	
5.	Rather be here or in other institution			.593
3.	Summary--a good place or			.534
4.	bad place			
27.	Adults here don't care about us			.531
1c.	Adults here are pretty fair			-.507
13.	Think adults here can help			.474
14a.	How much has stay helped			.413
				.409

A - 5

TRANSCRIPTION AND CODING RELIABILITY

Both transcription operations and coding were analyzed to ascertain the reliability of the operations. Independent, duplicate operations were performed on a 15% random sample of the data to provide measures of reliability in the 1965 survey. A 9% sample was used for the 1959 and 1960 data. The percentages below refer to the extent of agreement between the two independent operations. Transcription reliability in the 1965 survey was 99.7%. Inter-coder reliability was 98.75% in the 1959 and 1960 surveys and 98.36% in the 1965 study.

The extensive use of fixed alternative items contributed to the high reliability. A comparison of coding reliability for staff and inmate data in the 1965 study supports that notion. The reliability was higher for inmate data, 98.8%, than it was for staff data, 96.6% and the inmate questionnaire was more highly structured than the staff questionnaire.

B - 1

SCHEDULE: INMATE FILES

Question- naire Number	Age	School Grade	I.Q.	Race	Place of Residence (a)	Social Class (b)

BOYS' FILE DATA CODE

- (a) Place of Residence
County--numbered 1-55 plus pre-fix 1 for urban
and 2 for rural, see alphabetical list.
- (b) Social Class--according to occupation--Census Bureau
and/or Bureau of Labor Statistics.
- 1--Professional, managerial, sales
 - 2--Skilled labor
 - 3--Farmers
 - 4--Semi-skilled labor
 - 5--Unskilled labor
 - 6--No one in the labor force

Family Composition (c)	Most Serious Offense (d)	Number Previous Stay	Length of Stay	Number of Offenses	Length of Stay (e)

(c) Family Composition

- 0--Intact
- 1--Whole family--with manifest problems
- 2--Broken family--Mother head of household
- 3--Broken family--Father head of household
- 4--Broken family--Other relative head of household
- 5--Broken family--Foster home
- 6--Broken family--Other institutional residence

(d) Most Serious Offense

- 1--Assaultive, inc. armed robbery, rape, murder
- 2--Breaking and entering
- 3--Theft, including larceny
- 4--Auto theft
- 5--Sexual, incl. exposure, homo, stat. rape
- 6--Parole violation
- 7--Incorrigibility
- 8--Truancy
- 9--Not ascertainable
- 0--Dependent and neglected, social or psychological maladjustment, misc.--incl. arson, vandalism, forgery.

Referral Source

Religion

Race

No. Offenses

(e) Current Stay--to 3/20/65

B - 2

SCHEDULE: STAFF FILES

Party Affil.	Name	Number	Position and Number	Sex	Age

Educa- tion	Martial Status	Beginning Date	Housing	Salary	Terminal Date

Reason	Person Replaced	Roster Number	Questionnaire Number

231

C - 1

BOYSVILLE
SOMETOWN, U.S.A.

TO ALL EMPLOYEES

Most of you have met Mr. Victor Schneider, who has been visiting the Industrial School to learn about how Industrial Schools are operated and about the problems of running an Industrial School.

He has expressed his appreciation for all of the help and consideration that he has received and he has asked me to convey his appreciation to you.

On the basis of his informal talks with many of you, Mr. Schneider has prepared a questionnaire, which will be distributed in the near future.

Arrangements will be made to prevent identifying any individual's answers.

I ask that you continue your fine cooperation and complete and return the questionnaires, according to his directions, at the earliest possible time.

Thank you,

Superintendent

A Study of An Industrial School for Boys

We need your cooperation to get at some important information. You can help us in a study we are making of the way in which an institution that works with boys operates. We wish to know about some of your activities, how you feel about your job (what some of the problems are), and your opinions about boys and delinquency.

This study is related to an earlier study which included this institution. The earlier study was done four or five years ago and some of you may remember filling out a questionnaire at that time. This time we should like to obtain some additional information, as well as to find out changes that may have developed. Some of the questions are new, and some were used in the earlier study. Please answer all questions. Your answers will be completely confidential and anonymous, so feel free to answer the questions frankly. It is important that we know just how the employees here feel about these various things. Please don't discuss the questionnaire with anyone who has not finished filling out theirs. We want only your personal reactions and opinions.

We think you will enjoy filling out this questionnaire and thinking about the questions. In most cases you have only to put a check mark over the short line that fits your answer best. Any comments, ideas, or qualifications in your answers will be appreciated; just write them in.

Thank you for your cooperation in our study. Your assistance will be of benefit to many agencies working with youth.

Name _____

When you have finished the questionnaire, rip off this page with your name on it. Put this sheet in the box in the administration building, put the completed questionnaire in the large envelope, which is provided, and drop the envelope in any mail box. In this way we will know that you have completed a questionnaire, but will not know which one.

A. Ideas about juvenile delinquents

Thinking about delinquents in general--that is, boys who get into trouble and come to the attention of the authorities--we should like to know how you feel about the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers. All we want to know is what you feel about the statement. If you "strongly agree," check the line below Strongly Agree. If you "agree," check the line below Agree, and so forth.

1. We can try, but it is difficult to understand the peculiar behavior of delinquents.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1___	2___	3___	4___	5___

2. Understanding may be important in helping delinquents, but what is really needed is strictness and firmness.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1___	2___	3___	4___	5___

3. Delinquents have to be punished, if they're going to learn correct behavior.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1___	2___	3___	4___	5___

4. Sympathetic understanding is the key to helping delinquents.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1___	2___	3___	4___	5___

5. Society is going to have to be much tougher than it has been, if it is going to cut down on delinquency.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1___	2___	3___	4___	5___

6. One of the things a delinquent needs is a chance to express his feelings without being punished.

Strongly Agree Agree Unsure Disagree Strongly Disagree

1___ 2___ 3___ 4___ 5___

7. The trouble with delinquents is that they haven't learned to treat adults with respect and obedience.

Strongly Agree Agree Unsure Disagree Strongly Disagree

1___ 2___ 3___ 4___ 5___

B. About the boys

1. Sometimes boys get together in informal groups in the institution. Some of these groups have a bad influence on the boys and make your job harder, some groups may not be bad, and perhaps are a good influence on the boys making your job easier, while some may not affect your job at all.

How do you feel about these groups at the institution?

- ___ 1 All are bad
 ___ 2 Most are bad
 ___ 3 More are bad than are good
 ___ 4 They don't have any affect on my job at all
 ___ 5 More are good than are bad
 ___ 6 Most are good
 ___ 7 All are good

2. Regardless of what anyone says, the best way for a boy to get along here is to: (check one)

- 1___ Stay out of the way of adults, but get away with what he can.
 2___ Don't break any rules and keep out of trouble.
 3___ Show that he is really sorry for what he did.
 4___ Try to get an understanding of himself.

C. Below is a group of stories about things that happen at institutions for boys. After each story check the one statement which is closest to what you would do, if the situation came up here at Boysville.

1. A boy truants and is gone for a day. The police bring him back. He has broken a couple of windows to get into a garage, but he had not stolen anything. The boy has run away once before. He has made a fairly good adjustment to the institution, aside from his "running."

___ Try to find out why he ran, talk with him about his behavior and put him back into the program.

___ Talk to him about it; put him back into the program, but have everyone keep an eye on him.

___ Ask him why he ran, then put him on the bench until you are fairly sure that he has learned his lesson.

2. A boy starts to complain about how he is being treated here. He gets mad and swears at you. He has done this before and you have spoken to him about it.

___ Paddle him

___ Put him on the bench; penalize him, since swearing can't be allowed.

___ Tell him that if he keeps it up, he'll have to do extra work.

___ Listen to him; try to calm him down once more, and talk with him about it.

3. A boy is talking too loudly while playing a game. Several times before you have spoken to him about his loud talking. Usually he quiets down for awhile but then starts talking too loudly again.

___ Paddle him the next time he talks too loud.

___ Talking loud tends to excite the other boys so bench him or report him--so he'll be penalized.

___ Bawl him out; because loudness can't be permitted.

___ Find out how the other boys feel about it; if it doesn't bother them too much, talk to him about it but don't make an issue out of it.

4. You have asked a boy to help another boy clean a room. He says he doesn't want to. You have gotten along well with him in the past.

___ Order him to do it; otherwise he'll be penalized.

___ Ask him to do it for you, if he wants to keep your friendship.

___ Reason with him; explain why he should do it.

D. Institutional Purpose

Different institutions for delinquents have different ideas of what their purposes are. Below is a list of statements about purposes.

1. Our purpose is to punish delinquent behavior.
2. Our purpose is to teach boys good social habits.
3. Our purpose is to train and educate these boys.
4. Our purpose is to change a boy's attitudes and values.
5. Our purpose is to help each boy learn an understanding of the value of doing what we can do for him.
6. Our purpose is to prevent the same delinquency for a period of time.

1. Now look over the list and check those statements of the two statements which in your opinion best describe what the purpose of boys' institutions is.

() _____ () _____

2. Which two statements are the furthest away from what the purpose of boys' institutions is?

() _____ () _____

3. Which two statements are closest to the purpose of boys' institutions?

() _____ () _____

4. Which two statements are most different from the purpose of boys' institutions?

() _____

5. Which two statements are most similar to the purpose of boys' institutions?

() _____ () _____

6. Which two statements are most different from the purpose of boys' institutions?

- E. In each of the following sets of items check the one item which comes closest to describing what you think the Superintendent expects from the employees here. Read all of the choices in a set before you check one.

Set 1. He expects personnel:

1. ___ to have close relationships with the boys, so that we can get to understand the boys.
2. ___ to be close to the boys, but not so close that our status and authority will be questioned.
3. ___ to keep distant from the boys; otherwise we will lose our objectivity and not be able to maintain our authority.
4. ___ He doesn't care what kind of relationship we have.

Set 2. He expects personnel:

1. ___ to maintain order at all times; otherwise the boys will get out of control.
2. ___ to let the boys have freedom to express themselves; but we have to keep a close watch over it.
3. ___ to let the boys set their own limits, except if it gets dangerous; otherwise the boys won't learn to control themselves.
4. ___ He's not concerned about whether the staff lets boys have freedom to express themselves or not.

THIS PAGE FOR COTTAGE PARENTS AND COTTAGE COMMANDERS ONLY,
OTHERS SKIP TO THE NEXT PAGE.

Set 3. He expects the cottage parents or cottage commanders:

1. ___ to give the boys who help keep control special privileges.
2. ___ to treat all the boys alike, in order to be fair.
3. ___ to treat each boy according to his needs.

Set 4. He expects the cottage parents or cottage commanders:

1. ___ to keep all of the boys in sight when they are with the boys; a boy shouldn't be allowed to go into a room alone unless he is an Outline or Honor Boy.
2. ___ to allow any boy to be alone in a room if he feels that the boy can be trusted.
3. ___ to allow a boy to go into a separate room if the boy wants to; in most situations the boys don't have to be watched that closely.
4. ___ it doesn't matter to the superintendent how cottage parents or cottage commanders regulate the movement of the boys.

Set 5. He expects the cottage parents or cottage commanders:

1. ___ to meet the parents when they visit; the institution, if the parents want to meet him.
2. ___ to avoid meeting the real parents if at all possible.
3. ___ to attempt to see the real parents when they come visiting.
4. ___ it doesn't matter to the superintendent how cottage parents or cottage commanders meet the real parents or not.

F. Meaning of tasks in the Institution

1. Which person at the institution do you find to be most helpful in advising you how to work with the boys?

2. How much help is the chaplain in advising how to work with the boys?
 _____ A lot of help in advising us.
 _____ Some help in advising us.
 _____ Little help in advising us.
3. How much help is the Social Service Director in advising how to work with boys?
 _____ A lot of help in advising us.
 _____ Some help in advising us.
 _____ Little help in advising us.
4. How much influence does each of the following groups have in making decisions about how the boys should be handled? (Check only one space for each group.)

	Very Little Influence	Some Influence	Considerable Influence	A Great Deal of Influence
Social Service Director	_____	_____	_____	_____
Principal and Teachers	_____	_____	_____	_____
Cowboys Parents and Commissioners	_____	_____	_____	_____
Team and other Work Supervisors	_____	_____	_____	_____
Chaplain	_____	_____	_____	_____
Asst. Superintendent	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. Staff have different tasks at any institution and some tasks are more important in the operation of the institution than others. We would like your opinion about the relative importance of the tasks which have been paired below. Would you please check the task in each pair which in your opinion is the more important of the two? (Check only one for each pair listed, but do not overlook any pair)

Social Service Director	___	or	Principal and Teachers	___
Principal and Teachers	___	or	Cottage Parents and Commander	___
Cottage Parents and Commander	___	or	Farm & other Work Supervisors	___
Farm & other Work Supervisors	___	or	Chaplain	___
Chaplain	___	or	Assistant Superinten- dent	___
Ass't Superintendent	___	or	Social Service Director	___
Social Service Director	___	or	Cottage Parents and Commander	___
Cottage Parents and Commander	___	or	Chaplain	___
Chaplain	___	or	Social Service Director	___
Social Service Director	___	or	Farm & other Work Supervisors	___
Farm & other Work Supervisors	___	or	Principal and Teachers	___
Principal and Teachers	___	or	Chaplain	___
Principal and Teachers	___	or	Ass't Superintendent	___
Ass't Superintendent	___	or	Cottage Parents and Commander	___
Farm & other Work Supervisors	___	or	Ass't Superintendent	___

6. Handling the boys is only one consideration of running Boysville. Each position has its own job to consider and all of these jobs influence the way the School is run. In general, how much influence or say on the way Boysville is run would you say each of the following individuals or groups has? (Please put one check on the line in the column representing the amount of influence that you believe the individual or group has.)

	1 A Great Deal of Say	2 A Lot of Say	3 Some Say	4 Little Say	5 Very Little Say
Commissioner of Public Institutions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Superintendent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Assistant Superintendent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Social Director	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Chaplain	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
School Principal	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Farm Manager and Work Supervisors	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

7. How about others--outside the institution, are there any such persons whose views have to be considered in running Boysville?

_____ Yes _____ No

If you believe there are others outside the institution who have some say or influence on how the School is or should be run, list them below. (Names are not necessary, rather their position or why their views are considered.)

8. If you were appointed to a committee to advise the Superintendent of the School, which of the following statements about staff arrangements would you approve? (Check only one)

Cottage Parents and Commanders should have a specially trained staff person to share with them the responsibility for running the cottages.

Cottage Parents and Commanders should have a specially trained person to work more closely with them and advise them.

Present arrangements and assignments are fine and should not be changed.

There are already too many people interfering with the Cottage Parents and Commanders; they would do a better job if they didn't have to work so closely with so many different people.

9. If you were a member of a committee to advise the Superintendent about boys' contacts with the local community, which of the following statements would you approve? (Check only one)

The boys here should have more contact and activity in the community.

Present community contacts and activity are enough.

The boys should have less contact and activity with the community.

10. In most organizations or institutions on occasion there are differences in view or disagreements which lead to tension. Regardless of whether you yourself feel any tension--overall--would you say that at Boysville there is any tension (disagreement or irritation) between the following pairs of groups or departments? (Please check one line for each pair listed.)

	1 A Great Deal of Tension	2 Considerable Tension	3 Some Tension	4 Very Little Tension At All	5 No Tension At All
Principal or Teachers and Cottage Parents or Commanders	—	—	—	—	—
Principal or Teachers and Administrative Staff (Chaplain Ass't Supt. Soc. Director	—	—	—	—	—
Farm Manager or Work Supervisors and Cottage Parents or Commanders	—	—	—	—	—
Cottage Parents or Commanders and Administrative Staff	—	—	—	—	—
Farm Manager or Work Supervisors and Principal or Teachers	—	—	—	—	—
Relief Commanders and other Staff	—	—	—	—	—
Employees and Superintendent	—	—	—	—	—

1	2	3	4	5
A Great Deal of Tension	Considerable Tension	Some Tension	Very Little Tension	No Tension At All

Institution
Staff and
Staff from
the Office
of the
Commissioner
of Public
Institutions

11. Regardless of how much tension you yourself feel, if you indicated in the last item that there is tension between some of the groups or departments mentioned - we would like to get some idea of the reason for it or the circumstances which lead up to it.

Here is a list of ideas about what might lead to tension or disagreement between groups.

1. How much the boys should be disciplined.
2. How much the boys should be encouraged.
3. How closely the boys should be watched.
4. How closely to work with the boys.
5. How much information one group should provide the other about the boys.
6. How much one group interferes with the other group's plans for the boys, or their program with the boys.
7. How closely the rules should be enforced.
8. How much responsibility the other group takes for carrying out their own job.
9. How one group exercises authority or bosses the other.
10. How much help one group should provide for the other.

Now for each pair of jobs listed on the following pages, write in the numbers of the ideas in the list above which lead to tensions between the pairs. You may list as many or as few numbers as you wish. If the reason for tension is not on the list above, write it in the blank space provided. If there is no tension at all between some of the pairs, circle the word none after the blank spaces.

a. What are the conditions which lead to tension between the Principal or Teachers and Cottage Parents or Commanders?

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

b. What are the conditions leading to tensions between the Principal or Teachers and Administrative Staff (Supt., Ass't. Supt., Chaplain, Social Service Director, or Business Manager?)

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

c. What are the conditions leading to tension between Farm Manager or Work Supervisors and Cottage Parents or Commanders?

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

d. What are the conditions leading to tension between Cottage Personnel and Administrative Staff?

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

e. What are the conditions leading to tension between Farm Manager or Work Supervisors and Principal or Teachers?

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

f. What are the conditions leading to tension between Relief Commanders and other Staff?

----- None
Other (Write in) _____

8. What are the conditions that contribute to tensions between Employees here and the Superintendent?

----- None
 Other (Write in) _____

h. What conditions lead to tensions between the Institution Staff and Staff from the Office of the State Commissioner of Public Institutions?

----- None
 Other (Write in) _____

12. From time to time changes in methods, practices, and procedures are introduced by the administration (superintendent, assistant superintendent). In general do you think these changes lead to better ways of doing things?

- 1 ___ They are always an improvement.
 2 ___ Most of the time they are an improvement.
 3 ___ Sometimes they are an improvement.
 4 ___ They never improve things.
 5 ___ I can't judge.

13. If the institution was having trouble with runaways and you were on a committee to decide what to do about it, which of the following would you recommend? (Check only one)

- 1 ___ Give the staff more opportunity to discipline, even though really hurting a boy should not be tolerated.
 2 ___ Put some of the boys in a more restricted program, one with less freedom and fewer privileges.
 3 ___ Institute a training program with staff so they can learn how to make the boys want to stay here.
 4 ___ Try and get people in the community to support the program and procedures here.

14. There have to be some basic policies and rules, but I should be able to use my own judgment in handling the boys.

1 Strongly Agree
 2 Agree
 3 Uncertain
 4 Disagree
 5 Strongly Disagree

15. Do you feel that you have a good idea of why things are done the way they are here?

1 I have a very good idea; everything can be understood.
 2 I have a pretty good idea.
 3 Some idea.
 4 I have a poor idea of why things are done the way they are.
 5 I have a very poor idea; very little of it can be understood.

- G. How employees feel about their jobs.

1. Some people are deeply involved in their job. Such a person may think about his job constantly. A second person may view his job simply as a way to earn a living. How strongly do you feel involved in your job?

1 Not involved at all; chiefly a way to earn a living.
 2 Slightly involved.
 3 Moderately involved; an important part of my life.
 4 Strongly involved.
 5 Very strongly involved; one of the most important things in my life.

2. How does Boysville compare with other places in which to work?

1 Much better than most.
 2 Better than most.
 3 About the same as most.
 4 Somewhat poorer than most.
 5 Much poorer than most.

3. Did you have a position here at Boysville prior to the election last November, e.g., during the fall or summer?

1 _____ Yes 2 _____ No

a. If you answered "NO" to the above question, skip to number 4. All others please complete the following questions.

How much concern, tension, or pressure did you feel because of the coming election?

- 1 _____ A great deal of concern.
- 2 _____ Quite a bit of concern.
- 3 _____ Some concern.
- 4 _____ Very little concern.
- 5 _____ None at all.

b. If you felt some concern about the election outcome and campaign, why was that? Write in briefly why you were concerned - your chief reasons for concern.

c. Any other reasons?

4. How much concern do you feel now about the program, your job, or things in general here at the School?

- 1 _____ A great deal of concern.
- 2 _____ Quite a bit of concern.
- 3 _____ Some concern.
- 4 _____ Very little concern.
- 5 _____ No concern - nothing to worry about.

a. If you have any concern about things - What are they? Write in briefly the kind of things about which you have concerns here.

b. Indicate which of these things above you consider most important by underlining it. Now - why is that - explain why you are concerned or worried about that in particular? Please write below, briefly.

FOR ALL STAFF

H. Personal Data In these questions we would like to know a little about your background. We are not interested in your particular answers but only in the general pattern for all personnel at the institution. Please answer all questions.

1. How old are you?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 25 | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 45 - 49 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 29 | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 50 - 54 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 30 - 34 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 55 - 59 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 39 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 - 64 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 40 - 44 | 10 <input type="checkbox"/> 65 and over |

2. What is your sex? 1 Male 2 female

3. What is your marital status:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Single | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Married | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Separated |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced | |

If you are married, does your wife (or husband) work here?

- 1 Yes 2 No

If yes, in what position: _____

4. How long have you worked continuously at Boysville?

If you worked at Boysville before this time, please give the dates of employment and the nature of your job.

Dates

Kind of Work

5. Have you had any other similar kind of work, to the job you have now? (For example, in a prison, children's institution, social agency, mental hospital, court, etc.)

1 Yes

2 No

Where? _____

6. Are you a member of any union or employee group?

1 Yes

2 No

7. Education (Please check the number of years of school completed).

1 3 or less years

2 4 - 6 years

3 7 - 9 years

4 10 - 11 years

5 completed high school

6 1 - 3 years of college

7 completed college

8 some graduate study

9 completed a graduate degree

8. Have you taken any night school or extension courses?

1 Yes

2 No

If so, what course? _____

If you went to college, what was your major field of study? _____

9. What type of position do you have now at the school?

- 1 Administrative (Main Building)
- 2 Educational Program (Academic)
- 3 Educational Program (Vocational)
- 4 Farm, Work, or Detail Supervisor
- 5 Institutional Services (Clothing, Food Preparation, Power Plant, Heat, etc.)
- 6 Cottage Program (Parents, Commanders, Relief Commanders)
- 7 Other (Please write in) _____

10. Have you ever worked for the government before? (State, County, City, etc.) Please indicate the level, type of work or department, and date.

<u>level</u>	<u>type or work or department</u>	<u>date</u>
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RESEARCH PROJECT - BOYS' QUESTIONNAIRE

YOUR ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE SEEN ONLY BY THE RESEARCH TEAM FROM THE UNIVERSITY. NO ONE AT THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL OR ANY OTHER PLACE WILL SEE THEM.

1. We would like your idea about these things at the Industrial School. Check one blank space to show whether you agree, disagree, or are uncertain. Please answer each statement.
- a. There are not enough things to do during free time.
 _____ 1 Agree _____ 5 Disagree _____ 3 Unsure
- b. Boys should be able to suggest changes in things like their work assignment, smoking rules, and activities.
 _____ 1 Agree _____ 5 Disagree _____ 3 Unsure
- c. The adults here are pretty fair.
 _____ 1 Agree _____ 5 Disagree _____ 3 Unsure
- d. Some boys can get away with too much.
 _____ 1 Agree _____ 5 Disagree _____ 3 Unsure
2. For some boys who don't have much at home, some things like the food, clothing, sports, etc. may be better here than at home. For some boys these things may be worse. How about you? Are things like these better or worse for you here than they were at home?
- _____ 1 Very much better here
 _____ 2 Better here
 _____ 3 About the same
 _____ 4 Worse here
 _____ 5 Very much worse here

3. When you first learned that you were going to be sent here, what did you think about this place? Did you think it would be a good place or a bad place?

- 1 Good place
- 2 Neither good nor bad
- 3 Bad place
- 4 Very bad place

4. What do you think about this place now? Is it better than you expected or worse than you expected?

- 1 A lot better than I expected
- 2 Better than I expected
- 3 About the same as I expected
- 4 Worse than I expected
- 5 A lot worse than I expected

5. Some boys who get into trouble are sent to one place and some are sent to another. If you were back home and had your choice to come here or go to some other institution where they send boys who get into trouble (not your own home or a foster home), which would you choose?

- 1 Come here
- 2 Go to some other institution

6. a. Think back to before you came to the Industrial School. Who were the people that told you about it? Who had something to say about how it would be here, or who gave you ideas about Boysville? Here is a list of people who might have told you something about it here. Please check the space after those who told you something about the Industrial School.

1. Parents: Mother _____ Father _____
2. Brothers _____ Sisters _____
3. Other Relatives _____
4. Neighbors _____
5. Schoolmates _____
6. Friends _____
7. Teacher-Principal _____
8. Sheriff-Police _____
9. Judge _____
10. Anyone else (write in) _____

- b. Now go back over the list above and circle any that you think might have anything to say about how this place is run, or what kind of a place the Industrial School should be.

STAFF PERSONS _____)	Superintendent	Ass't. Supt.	Social Service	Chaplain	Principal	Cottage Parent or Commander	Other Staff Person
Things boys talk about.							
Something that I did wrong here.							
Problems I have getting along with other boys at the Industrial School.							
About getting my work assignment changed.							
About transferring to another cottage.							
About my release date or going home.							
What I will do when I leave here.							
What I will do with my life.							
How I get along with my family.							
What I do things that get me into trouble.							
Personal problems that I wanted some advice on.							
Other (Write in) _____							

8. If you were having some trouble getting along with your cottage parent or commander, which staff person would you want to talk to about it? (Write in their name in the spaces below - put your first choice in the space numbered 1, your second choice in space 2, etc.; if you feel that you couldn't talk to any adult here about it, check the space for that answer.)
- 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____
- I don't feel I could talk to any adult about it. _____
9. Do you usually hang around with several guys, a few mostly with one boy, or with none? (While you are here at the Industrial School)
- _____ 4 Four or more guys
 _____ 3 Two or three guys
 _____ 2 One Guy
 _____ 1 None
10. Now, how about close friends, here? Some boys have close friendships with other boys here and some boys don't. How many other boys are close friends of yours?
- _____ 1 None
 _____ 2 One
 _____ 3 Two or three
 _____ 4 Four or more
11. How many of the boys you have met here would you like to see again, after you leave here?
- _____ 1 All or almost all
 _____ 2 Most
 _____ 3 Some
 _____ 4 A few
 _____ 5 None
12. Have you been helped here to prepare for the kind of job you would like to have after you leave?
- _____ 1 I have been helped a lot.
 _____ 2 I have been helped some.
 _____ 3 I have been helped a little.
 _____ 4 I have not been helped prepare for a future job.

13. Do you think some of the adults here can help you find out why you get into trouble and help you change?

1 Adults here can help me a lot.
 2 Adults here can help me some.
 3 Adults here can help me a little.
 4 Adults here can't help me at all.

14. How much would you say that your stay here has helped you?

1 A great deal
 2 Quite a bit
 3 Some, but not much
 4 Very little
 5 None

If it has helped you, is it mostly because (check one.)

1 I have learned my lesson.
 5 I have learned something about myself and why I get into trouble.

15. What three boys are best at getting other boys to do what they want them to do - that is, which three have the most influence among the boys? Think of the boys that you know in your cottage, in school or shop, in the work program, or recreation. Please write in their first and last names.

1 _____ 2 _____
 3 _____

16. Now - take the first boy you named above. Do you think he is mostly a good influence on the other boys - for example, is he fair with all the boys? Does he help other boys stay out of trouble?

OR

Do you think he is mostly a bad influence on the other boys - for example, does he bully the others, shove some of the weaker boys around, or get his own way whether he is right or not?

a) Think of the first
boy you listed.
Is he:

- 1 Always a good influence
- 2 Mostly a good influence
- 3 More of a good than a
bad influence,
- 4 More of a bad than a
good influence
- 5 Mostly a bad influence
- 6 Always a bad influence

b) Think of the second
boy you listed.
Is he:

- 1 Always a good influence
- 2 Mostly a good influence
- 3 More of a good than a
bad influence
- 4 More of a bad than a
good influence
- 5 Mostly a bad influence
- 6 Always a bad influence

c) Now think of the
third boy you
listed. Is he:

- 1 Always a good influence
- 2 Mostly a good influence
- 3 More of a good than a
bad influence
- 4 More of a bad than a
good influence
- 5 Mostly a bad influence
- 6 Always a bad influence

17. All of us do things at times or act in certain ways so that people become angry or disappointed with us. At other times we do things which they like very much, or they are glad when we act a certain way. What sort of things do people like best about you? (Write in just a couple of things)

18. Which one of the adults here has the most to say about what happens to you while you are here? (Please write in name)

19. Which one of the adults here has the most to say about when you get out of here? (Please write in the name)

20. Suppose some boys took a dislike to a boy you knew, and decided to rough him up for no particular reason. If a friend of the boy learned about their plan, what should he do? Should he warn an adult?

_____ 1 Yes _____ 5 No

21. Suppose a group of boys are planning to get even with a commander here that no one likes, by beating him up. Should a boy warn some adult here about it?

_____ 1 Yes _____ 5 No

22. Suppose some boys from your cottage started stealing food from the kitchen and eating it themselves. When the adults found out that food was being stolen they said that until they found out which boys were taking the food, the whole cottage would be restricted.

Suppose you knew who was in the group that was stealing the food. If you got the chance to tell an adult without anyone else knowing, would you do so?

_____ 1 Yes _____ 5 No

23. Suppose a boy you knew fairly well was planning to run tonight, or not come back from a home visit.

a) Would you try to talk him out of it?

_____ 1 Yes _____ 5 No

b) Do you think a boy should ever tell an adult here that another boy is planning to run?

_____ 1 Yes _____ 5 No

24. Boys have different ideas about this place. What is your idea about it - what do you think about this place? (check one)

- 1 A place that helps boys in trouble
 3 A place to send boys who get into trouble
 5 A place to punish boys for something wrong they did

25. Regardless of what the adults here say, the best way to get along here is to (check one)

- 1 Stay out of the way of the adults, but get away with what you can
 2 Don't break any rules and keep out of trouble
 3 Show that you are really sorry for what you did
 4 Try to get an understanding of yourself
 5 Be a chieffie

26. How much of the time do you think most of the boys here really stick together, and are loyal to each other? Do they stick together and are they loyal?

- 1 All of the time
 2 Most of the time
 3 Some of the time
 4 A little of the time
 5 Never

27. Do you agree or disagree?

The adults here really don't care what happens to us; they're just doing a job.

- 1 Strongly agree
 2 Agree
 3 Disagree
 4 Strongly disagree

28. Now think of the leaders among the boys here - the boys that the other boys will listen to or obey. It doesn't matter whether you think they are good leaders or bad. We are interested in all kinds of leaders. There are bound to be some boys who have more influence over other boys, so think of them and answer these questions:

How many of the leaders here:

- a) Are ready to fight other boys at most any time?

_____ 1 All or most leaders
 _____ 3 About half the leaders
 _____ 5 Few or no leaders

- b) Keep other boys from getting into trouble?

_____ 1 All or most leaders
 _____ 3 About half the leaders
 _____ 5 Few or no leaders

- c) Are able to help with personal problems other boys have?

_____ 1 All or most leaders
 _____ 3 About half the leaders
 _____ 5 Few or no leaders

- d) Go around looking for fights?

_____ 1 All or most leaders
 _____ 3 About half the leaders
 _____ 5 Few or no leaders

29. How many times have you been here before _____
 (If none, please write in 0)

30. How long have you been in the cottage you live in now? (months) _____

31. How long have you been at the Industrial School?
 (If you have been here before, write in just how long you have been here this time.) (months) _____

32. How many times have you run from the Industrial School? (Write in 0, if none.) _____

33. Are you going to school here? ____1 Yes ____5 No

34. If you answered yes above, what grade are you in? ____

If you answered no above, what work program or job assignment do you have? _____

If you are going to school, are you in the Vocational (Shop) Program? ____1 Yes ____5 No

If you are in the shop program, which one are you in? _____

35. How old are you? (last birthday) _____

C - 4

TEXT: FOLLOW-UP LETTER

STAFF SURVEY

A number of weeks have passed since you received the research questionnaire (and I do appreciate how busy you must be). I write to emphasize that every completed questionnaire is important to the study. Therefore, I ask you, personally, to lend your support to the study by completing the questionnaire at the earliest possible date (within the next week, if you are able to).

Let me reassure you that your answers will be completely anonymous and that the questionnaires, themselves, are carefully protected. So, please feel free to answer all the questions frankly.

Although you may wonder about your own knowledge in some parts of the inquiry, I assure you that each person's views are respected and desired. It is only through learning the full range of opinions on all of the questions and the ideas of all personnel at the Industrial School that we shall be able to add to our understanding of the operation of such institutions. With your help, this study will benefit other institutions that work with youth.

Again, thank you very much for your cooperation. If you have already mailed your questionnaire understand that this letter and your questionnaire have crossed in the mail and please accept my regrets for having bothered you. If you have misplaced your questionnaire, another copy is available from Mrs. Brickfield.

Sincerely yours,

Victor L. Schneider

C - 5

TEXT: FOLLOW-UP POSTCARD
STAFF SURVEY

Dear :

Perhaps your questionnaire and this card have crossed in the mail? If so, please accept my apology for bothering you again. If not, won't you, please, complete and return the questionnaire right-away.

Almost all staff have returned their questionnaires and the few that are missing are very important, so we will have a full range of ideas and opinions. If you have misplaced the questionnaire, another copy is available from Mrs. Brickfield. Again let me assure you that your answers will be anonymous and that the questionnaires are carefully protected.

Sincerely,

/s/ Victor L. Schneider

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